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SIXTH EDITION

Introductory Sociology

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Julian L. Woodward

Milton A. Maxwell

OXFORD & IBH PUBLISHING CO.

Calcutta *Bombay* *New Delhi*

To M. L. S., W. W. W. *and* C. C. M

Preface

This is a major revision of *Introductory Sociology*—both in content and in conceptual orientation. The authors have taken the time and the thought for a thorough-going revision which incorporates the latest developments and most recent research in the field of sociology.

Old friends of *Introductory Sociology* can quickly determine the extent of the revision, for it is much greater than for any previous edition. But only by a closer examination can colleagues evaluate the authors' success in achieving a contemporary and conceptually sound introduction to sociology.

Those who have been using the fifth edition will welcome the shorter book and the reduced parts on culture, personality, and social change. But they will also welcome the new or substantially expanded treatments of society, structure and function, stratification, population, ecology, and community (including today's urban community) and the new materials on technology, small group research, mass communications, bureaucracy, processes of conflict and accommodation in race relations, competing patterns of control in education, new organizational features of philanthropy, especially of modern foundations, and the changing focus on problems of the aged. Empirical studies have been drawn upon abundantly, and an attempt has been made to present the student with a picture of "sociologists at work."

Colleagues may, however, be assured that the chief features which made earlier editions attractive to the student have been retained. In their style and in their extensive use of readings, cases, and illustrative materials, the authors have striven to communicate with the student. They have kept firmly in mind that student interest is a major factor in student learning and that a major criterion for judging an introductory book is its capacity to arouse and maintain student interest.

The authors would also like to emphasize the adaptability of the book to the instructor's preferred order of presenting materials. The organization of the book into major parts permits the instructor to begin the course wherever he wishes and to cover the sections in the order of his choosing. This organization also makes the book adaptable to courses of varying lengths—quarter, semester, or year. For a shorter course, sections or chapters can be omitted. For a longer course, supplementary material suggested in the references and footnotes can be drawn upon. Reports from colleges and universities show that many different patterns of using this type of textual organization are successful.

One mechanical feature retained from previous editions is the division of references at the end of each chapter into two classifications. The "A" references generally contain the more concrete, interesting, or readable materials. Generally, however, the "B" references are not beyond the good undergraduate student's competency.

The authors are, of course, indebted to many persons. To them all they wish to express their appreciation. The courtesy of publishers and authors in granting permission to use printed and graphic materials has been acknowledged at the point of inclusion. Previous editions have acknowledged the help of colleagues in different universities. For this edition, the authors ac-

knowledge the personal contributions, some small and some substantial, made by the following colleagues in anthropology: Richard D. Daugherty, William Elmendorf, William Madsen, Thomas Wilton McKern, and Allan H. Smith; and the following colleagues among sociologists: Dorrian Apple, Read Bain, John H. Burma, Laiten L. Camien, Richard F. Curtis, Vernon Davies, Edward Gross, David L. Hatch, Rex D. Hopper, Joel B. Montague, Jr., Jerome K. Myers, F. Ivan Nye, and Winfred G. Steglich. The authors also wish to thank Marjorie Lewis Sutherland for assistance in editing and proofreading; Betty D. Jones and Lawrence J. Sharp, each of whom aided at every stage in the revision process from library research to final copy preparation; and Bert Kruger Smith for editorial help. Finally, continuing gratitude is expressed to the memory of Julian L. Woodward for his vital share in the popularity the book has enjoyed over the years and for contributions which remain manifest in this edition, especially in the basic approach and the high standards of craftsmanship.

FEBRUARY, 1961

ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND
MILTON A. MAXWELL

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Chapter 1

Sociologists and Sociology

A Study of Attitudes

In July, 1941, the Secretary of War issued an order prohibiting surveys of attitudes of enlisted men. If their attitudes were critical of the Army, the order said, a survey would be "destructive in its effect on a military organization where accepted responsibility on the part of every individual is fundamental."

Five months later, an exception to this rule was permitted. With the personal backing of Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, a group of psychologists and sociologists used anonymous questionnaires to sound out the attitudes of a representative cross section of 1,500 enlisted men in one infantry division in training. The study was made the day after Pearl Harbor. For the first time in any modern army, the new methods of social science research had a chance to show their power in comparison with the reports of visiting officers, who had to get their impressions from haphazard and biased samples of informants.

The report was critical, all right. Straight from the pencils of the men came frank and documented indictments of the training methods, the leadership system, and other activities of an army which was enmeshed in ancient tradition and only beginning to awake to the needs of modern mechanized war. The complaints were not just idle gossip and griping. For example, statistical tables and charts proved that the men were discriminating in their criticisms: some practices were condemned by nine out of ten; some were approved by almost as large a proportion.

General Marshall himself read the report on this division. So did many of the officers on the General Staff. One general started reading it at midnight and said the next day that it was so exciting and revealing that he did not put it down until three o'clock in the morning. A considerable number of changes were instituted as a result of that one study, including a revision of plans for the new Officers' Candidate Schools. Most important of all, the War Department put such research on a permanent basis. Between Pearl Harbor and the end of the war, the Research Branch of its Information and Education Division [in which Sociologist Stouffer was the head of the professional staff] made more than 200 surveys of representative samples aggregating over half a million U. S. enlisted men and officers.

The Army had opened up a new channel of communication. The top command now could replace guesswork about some of the morale problems with evidence. To be sure, not all officers welcomed it. There was always opposition, but skepticism diminished as the war progressed. . . .

. . . it was possible to show that these surveys, . . . got down to some solid realities. They proved to be of value in predicting the performance of groups of men in combat. . . .

The surveys were applied to hundreds of problems, many of which do not loom large in the perspective of total war, but were important at the time. Why did men in malarial regions fail to use Atabrine as regularly as they should? . . . What were the favored types of winter clothing among frontline troops in Belgium, Luxemburg and Germany? . . . What did they like most to read in *Yank* magazine? . . . What were the sources of difficulties in soldiers' relations with the French? Such inquiries were routine and were made in increasing numbers.

Some of the larger-scale enterprises were: studies of soldiers' postwar plans, which provided a factual basis for drawing up the GI Bill of Rights; studies of psychiatric screening which led to the development . . . of a test that

A Study of Attitudes by Samuel A. Stouffer was published in *Scientific American*, vol. 180, pp. 11–15, May, 1949. The author was Professor of Sociology at Harvard University and, until shortly before his death in 1960, Director of the Harvard Laboratory of Social Relations.

was used routinely in all induction stations in the last year of the war; . . . analyses of problems of occupying troops, which led to changes in occupation policy in Germany. .

One of the most useful researches was the one that established the point system for demobilization at the end of the war. The President and the War Department decided that the order of demobilization should be determined in terms of what the soldiers themselves wanted. The idea of a point system was conceived in the Research Branch. Representative samples of men throughout the world were queried, and from their responses the variables of length of service, overseas duty, combat duty and parenthood emerged as most significant. The final weights assigned to these variables yielded point scores which had a close correspondence with the wishes of the maximum number of soldiers. . . . Even after many men became angered by the alleged slowness of demobilization, the majority, though hostile to many if not most Army policies, continued to approve the point system (which determined the order, not the rate, of demobilization). In view of the explosive tensions in the early demobilization period, historians may find that the establishment of an objective system whose justice was accepted by most men saved the country from what could have been a crisis seriously damaging to American prestige.

Plainly the findings and the experience gained from these many surveys [1] are not limited to the military sphere or to wartime application.

. . . For social scientists their chief present interest lies in the question of how the findings and techniques that were developed can be applied to civilian institutions.

* * *

In the foregoing account, Stouffer has given us more than a glimpse of some of the World War II army research, although this in itself is interesting. He has also given us a sense of the importance of the scientific approach.

We may suppose that military officers have always valued dependable knowledge. No intelligent, responsible person wishes to base important decisions on inaccurate or inadequate information. The important role of "intelligence" work attests to the traditional value placed upon dependable information about the enemy. Yet with regard to many matters under their command, officers have had no way of obtaining accurate information. They have had to depend upon their own observations which were bound to be limited. Or they have had to depend upon reports relayed to them by others—reports which were very apt to be distorted in the process. Even the supposedly "objective" reports of visiting officers, as Stouffer pointed out, were generally based upon "haphazard and biased samples of informants." By contrast with traditional methods, the "power" of social science research methods to obtain dependable information is impressive. And once that power was demonstrated, the army adopted the new set of research tools.

As this case illustrates, it is this greater capacity to furnish dependable knowledge which makes the scientific approach so important and which accounts for its increased use in more and more areas of human activity.

We say that we are living in a "scientific age." We are surrounded by the products of scientific research. Through all our years in school we have been exposed to scientific findings in one field or another. Now, in introductory sociology, we are to survey a body of scientific knowledge with regard to man's social life. Yet if we are called upon to explain the scientific method which has led to such knowledge, we may find it difficult to do. In fact, not too many persons have a full grasp of what the scientific approach involves. This is even true of many scientific workers whose expert technical knowledge is applied to certain phases of the scientific enterprise but who lack a comprehensive perspective regarding the whole. It may be profitable, therefore, to clarify and round out our own understanding of the scientific approach.

What is the scientific approach?

Let us answer the question in a simple but comprehensive manner.

The scientific approach consists of 1) certain assumptions and 2) a method.

The chief assumption is the belief that phenomena occur in an orderly and natural fashion.

The method consists of observation (using one or more of the five senses) and verification—both carried on in as systematic and controlled a manner as possible.

[1] For the published reports see Samuel A. Stouffer, *et al.*, *The American Soldier*, vol. 1 and 2, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1949.

The purpose for going to all the trouble which this empirical method requires is simply to gain dependable knowledge. It is also assumed, of course, that it is desirable to have reliable knowledge.

There are many books written to spell out the *technical* aspects of the method: the culturing of viruses on chick embryonic tissue, the isotope technique for tracing the chemistry of living processes, interview techniques, public opinion polling techniques (e.g., area-probability samples), factor analysis, scaling, the Chi square test of significance, correlation coefficients, and other statistical techniques. The practicing scientist needs to be the master of the techniques appropriate to his field of specialization. But, because there is sometimes the previously alluded-to tendency, among scientists and laymen alike, to equate science with particular techniques, it is helpful for everyone to keep in mind that the total scientific method really boils down to observing and verifying with a systematic and rigorous objectivity.

Perhaps we can gain additional understanding of the scientific approach by observing scientists at work. If we watch enough of them, we will get some idea of the various phases of their work. The phases are presented below not as "steps" but as aspects of their co-operative enterprise. The project of a particular investigator may involve only one phase. But he is aware of all the other phases and how his particular contribution can fit into the total scientific process. Furthermore, he conducts his work in such a way that it fits into the efforts of others. He builds on their work; they build on his.

Collectively, then, the work of scientists in any field has the following phases.

1. *They tackle problems.* A "problem" is a gap in knowledge, something not yet understood. It may be a simple problem such as trenchfoot in the army. Stouffer and his associates tackled this one during World War II, attempting to discover the practices of the soldiers and also the attitudes behind the practices, which were related to high or low prevalence of trenchfoot. Or it may be a difficult and complex problem such as that of determining the "causes" of one or another kind of cancer, a problem being tackled by many scientists today.

2. *Particular problems are defined.* That is, a problem is sharpened by asking: "On the basis of the best knowledge available to us, just exactly what is this problem we are tackling?" Unless this is done, effort can be misdirected and wasted.

3. *They gather and record data.* Accurate description is an important purpose during the early stages of any "science," but even so, the subject matter chosen for description must have some relevance to the ongoing scientific enterprise. At later stages, data are gathered primarily for the purpose of "testing" hypotheses. But at any stage, the gathering and recording of data must be done as objectively and as systematically as the standards of the particular discipline require.

4. *They analyze and organize the gathered data.* This goes on at all stages in the development of a scientific discipline. At first, only systematic classification may be in order. Later, data will be ordered meaningfully into concepts, conceptual schemes, hypotheses, laws, and theories.

5. *They formulate hypotheses.* A hypothesis is a tentative statement about a relationship between two or more factors (variables) formulated in such a way that it can be tested. For example, when research on yellow fever was being conducted, the point was reached where the gathered evidence threw doubt upon the contagiousness of the disease. The more likely hypothesis was developed that yellow fever is transmitted solely by the *Aëdes Calopus* mosquito and not by direct or indirect contact.

6. *They design ways of testing hypotheses.* There are many methods by which testing may be done. The appropriate method depends upon the subject under study. But testing, in essence, is making a prediction (something which will happen or certain results which will follow if the hypothesis is valid) and then gathering new data and making comparisons between the predictions and the new observations. In the case of the yellow fever hypothesis, the investigators reasoned: if yellow fever is not contagious and if yellow fever can be transmitted solely by the Aëdes Calopus mosquito, then men who are given full protection from Aëdes Calopus mosquitoes can have any amount of contact with yellow fever victims, or their clothing and bedding, without contracting yellow fever.

7. *They test hypotheses by making new observations (gathering new data).* In test-

ing the particular yellow fever hypothesis, volunteers slept for twenty nights on the soiled bedding of yellow fever victims and were then observed to have contracted no yellow fever. When observations agree reasonably well with the predictions, confidence in the hypothesis is increased. If there is not reasonable agreement between the new observation and the predictions, doubt is cast on the hypothesis. The scientist concerned will re-examine it, amend it, or discard it altogether.

8. *They publish their findings.* Scientists may, at times, appear to be working alone, but actually, all scientists are in communication with other scientists in their field, either in person (as at scientific meetings) or, more often, through their publications (scientific journals).

9. *They check each other's work.* A scientist is expected to include a description of the procedures used so that other scientists can repeat his work. By thus checking on each other's findings through repeated or related experiments, errors are detected and necessary modifications made. This is part of the verification process. Hence also the claim that science is self-corrective.

10. *They build upon each other's work.* As we have already indicated, the scientific endeavor is a co-operative enterprise. The stockpile of reliable knowledge in chemistry, for example, is the joint product of the researches of thousands of persons, not just Americans, but chemists from all over the world, and not just contemporaries, but also the members of preceding generations. Science as we know it would be impossible were it not for such co-operation and pooling of efforts.

It is important to keep in mind, as was pointed out earlier, that the foregoing phases are not steps to be taken in the order given. The scientific method is not like a recipe for baking a cake, with precise steps to be followed, one after the other. Instead, the scientific method has a circular aspect to it. One phase "feeds back" into another as tested knowledge accumulates. Each phase, however, is an important aspect of the total method.

The social sciences

The same basic method (with all its phases), the same assumptions, and the same co-operation characterize the approach of the social scientists. We saw this in the case of the sociologists and psychologists at work in the army. Let us look at another example: excerpts from Morton Rubin's interesting account of his sociological study of *Plantation County.*[1]

After describing his first impressions of Plantation Town, a Deep South county seat with about 150 white families and 150 Negro families in a county of about 5,000 whites and 20,000 Negroes, Rubin sketched some of his procedure in gathering, recording and organizing data.

> Old Miss Erma Erskine gave me my first orientation to Plantation Town and the county. A retired school teacher, member of a once-proud plantation family, she loved to dote on the "good old days" while she held down the hotel desk during that summer [the hotel where Rubin was staying]. Subsequent days were spent generally in conversation and in making new acquaintances. As contacts multiplied, I was busy collecting names, charting genealogies, and trying to place my new informants in social space. I found that by attending large gatherings, civic club meetings, church schools and services, sports events, and the like, my appearance became known and persons would advance to greet me as a newcomer to the community. Invariably I would have to explain what my purpose was in coming to Plantation County. The theories, methods, and goals of social science research had to be translated . . . so that farmers, housewives, storekeepers, and even children could understand and be motivated to cooperate. Another early procedure was to purchase maps of the county and the town and mark the population in physical space. A property map of the county enabled me to outline the holdings. . . .
>
> After a typical day's activities, I sketched rough notes and impressions in a notebook. I typed the permanent notes regularly onto four by six papers and coded them according to the topics in the Yale *Outline of Cultural Materials.*[2] I sent one set of these notes with a weekly resume of activities and impressions to Professor Gillin at the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina. There his staff collated the notes of all the field personnel and filed them for further use, primarily as background for a summary book on culture in the South. I reviewed my own set of notes constantly, formulating and revising hypotheses. My visits to meetings and to officials invariably netted a collection of printed and mimeographed materials which proved valuable in noting prominent leaders of the community, periodic activities, and the like. [Valuable also was] the county weekly newspaper . . .
>
> I took field trips into the country almost as soon as I arrived in Plantation County. The county agent, social workers, insurance salesmen, and others, were extremely helpful in my gaining access to isolated

[1] Morton Rubin, *Plantation County,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1951.

[2] George P. Murdock, *et al., Outline of Cultural Materials,* revised edition, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1945.

places to establish contact with a variety of social groups and individuals. The long rides we took also provided excellent interview situations, the conversations often being more rewarding than the observations in the field. . . .

I documented my trips with numerous photographs. An Argus C-3 camera established me in a role of photographer which was quite useful for entering into situations where there might otherwise be difficulty in establishing initial rapport. I was careful to present copies of pictures to those informants who requested them. Negroes were quite willing to be photographed when they were "dressed up"; a little coaxing, however, persuaded them to be photographed in their usual activity. White individuals and groups likewise became willing subjects before the camera. It enabled many persons and groups to have their activities recorded for the first time. Church and school groups, clubs, mothers and infants, and numerous other persons looked forward to receiving pictures of themselves. . . .

I utilized a . . . recording machine to catch interviews and meetings, especially Negro choral groups. Limitation of time prevented a more extensive use of the machine. It proved its value, however, in marking local accents and events for transcription into longhand. The machine also provided an entree into new interview situations.

I found it valuable to begin writing down questions, notes, and hypotheses at least weekly while in the field. Within three months I began to organize the materials into a brief statement of the research problem as it appeared at that time. I continued this method of writing and revising manuscripts so that by the end of the field study I had a fairly comprehensive report ready. This method made the notes alive; it also enabled me to spot weaknesses in information so that I was able to check them before leaving the field. This present manuscript draft represents the fifth of a series that I began when I had been in the field six months.[1]

In this account, we have caught a glimpse of a sociologist at work. Using "informants" and the "participant observer" technique, Rubin sought as accurate a description as possible of the way of life in a plantation area. His purpose was not to get background for a novel or to write an interesting book. His observations were to be gathered in a standardized manner so that they could be used in comparative studies and in the later checking of hypotheses. They were to be organized and published in a manner which would make them useful to other social scientists. Even though Rubin did not set out to test specific hypotheses, his work represents necessary phases of the total scientific method.

If, however, Rubin had been assigned the problem of studying a large metropolitan area, he would have used quite different methods. Most likely, he would have enlisted the help of others and planned an interview survey of a representative sample of the metropolitan population.

This has been the approach of the Detroit Area Study which has been making annual studies of metropolitan Detroit.[2] Thus, the 1955–56 study[3] was based on interviews with slightly over 800 persons who constituted an "area-probability sample," each interview residence having been selected in a manner which assured all dwellings in the metropolitan area an equal chance of having been selected. The data which emerged out of this particular 1955–56 study *approximated*[4] the findings which interviews with each of the 3.5 million would have yielded.

Sampling, as the Detroit Area Study has shown, as Stouffer's army studies and the studies of many others have shown, is indeed a very effective and practical social science tool. In such studies, we see "sociologists at work" in quite a variety of activities. We see them reading, keeping up with related studies. We find them at desks or in conference deciding upon problems to be tackled, hypotheses to be tested. We observe them designing the interview questions, selecting the sample, training and supervising interviewers. We see the members of the sample being interviewed and the replies recorded. Then we observe the coding of the replies so that the data can be punched on IBM cards. Then follows the statistical processing of the data. Finally, we see our sociologists writing up their findings and reading them to colleagues at local, regional, national, or even international meetings of sociologists, and eventually publishing them in journals, special reports, Ph.D. theses, or books. Insofar as hypotheses are tested—and the Detroit Area Study does gather data for this purpose as well as for objective description—we see our sociologists at work

[2] The Detroit Area Study is a continuing research and graduate training program associated with the Department of Sociology and the Survey Research Centre of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

[3] *A Social Profile of Detroit*, 1956, Detroit Area Study, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1957.

[4] In sampling, as the report reminds its readers, there is always the possibility of sampling error—that the sample, by chance, will have a significantly larger or smaller per cent of some population category (sex, age, income, occupation, race, ethnic origin, etc.) than exists in the larger population being sampled. But the closeness of the Detroit Area Study sample, on several items, to those of the Bureau of the Census which does interview every household, adds to the confidence that the sample was satisfactorily representative of all adults in the Detroit area.

along the entire range of activities or phases of the scientific method.

In this first chapter, we can give only a few examples of sociologists at work—far from a representative sample of either the type of problems tackled or the activities themselves (more will be scattered throughout the book and the many references cited). But before going on, attention should be called to the rapidly increasing use of *experimental* designs.

The essence of experimental research is the controlling of all variables except the one being measured.[1] The difficulty of doing this with complex social phenomena is quite obvious. It is therefore a tribute to the ingenuity and statistical sophistication of sociologists that they are increasingly successful in devising experimental designs.

Experiments are usually associated with laboratories in the traditional sense of the word. And for that matter, sociologists are able to conduct some laboratory experiments. Small groups particularly lend themselves to experimentation in a laboratory setting.[2] However, most social phenomena cannot be brought into laboratory rooms. The sociologist's main "laboratory," if we may call it that, is the *field*—that is, right out among people in real-life social situations. The experimental approach, therefore, usually requires a *field experiment* of one kind or another. In such, the variables cannot be manipulated but controlled observations can be "built into" the research design.[3] Situations which particularly lend themselves to experimental control are social changes precipitated by official policy-makers, or by groups trying out new ways of doing things, or by natural events.

In the previously cited army studies, Stouffer reported a good example of a field experiment. It was occasioned by the decision of the army, for the first time, to place a platoon of Negro volunteers in a white infantry combat company. Of the divisions in Europe where this was first done, most experienced several months of subsequent combat. Thus a natural experimental situation was provided and exploited by the alert Research Branch. In Stouffer's words:

> At the end of the campaign, interviewers polled sample groups of men in several divisions to find out how the attitudes of men who had served with Negroes compared with those of men who had not. In divisions that had no mixed companies, 62 per cent of the soldiers said they would dislike very much to serve in the same companies as Negroes. Of white infantrymen who had fought in the same divisions but not the same companies as Negroes, only 20 per cent said they would dislike it very much. And among the white infantrymen who had actually been in the same companies as Negroes, only 7 per cent said they disliked it very much.
>
> There was another very interesting finding. Two-thirds of the white men in the mixed companies, when polled after the experience, said that they had been opposed to the scheme beforehand and had thought it would fail. This was almost exactly the same proportion of opponents as was found in divisions that had not experienced the plan; in other words, the retrospective answers about attitudes corresponded closely to those of groups [divisions *without* mixed companies] reporting current attitudes, . . .[4]

With this kind of controlled comparison, little doubt was left that fighting alongside Negroes greatly reduced white resistance to association with Negroes in mixed companies.

This is but an example of the way in which social phenomena can be brought under experimental control. But it also serves to illustrate the strong trend among sociologists to organize the already accumulated data into testable hypotheses and then to check them by means of some appropriate controlled observations.[5]

Our various examples, in this first chapter, of sociologists at work illustrate another characteristic of sociologists and their fellow social

[1] See Arnold Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences*, Chapter 16, "Conditions of the Social Science Experiment," University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954.

[2] *See*, for example, Robert F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis*, Addison-Wesley Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1950; Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, editors, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Ill., 1953; A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales, *Small Groups, Studies in Social Interaction*, A. A. Knopf, New York, 1955; the "Small Group" issue of the *American Sociological Review*, vol. 19, Dec., 1954; and Robert F. Bales, "Small-Group Theory and Research," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editors, *Sociology Today*, pp. 291–305, Basic Books, New York, 1959.

[3] For an excellent description, *see* John R. P. French, Jr., "Experiments in Field Settings," in Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz, editors, *Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences*, pp. 98–135, The Dryden Press, New York, 1953.

[4] Stouffer, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Reprinted by permission.

[5] The following books deserve special mention: Ernest Greenwood, *Experimental Sociology, A Study in Method*, King's Crown Press, New York, 1947; F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1947; Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, *Research Methods in Social Relations* (two volumes), The Dryden Press, New York, 1951; William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1952; Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, editors, *The Language of Social Research*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1955.

scientists today. We are referring to the considerable time which they are spending in the field—in primitive and not-so-primitive communities, in the scattered bases of the armed services, in correctional institutions for juveniles or adults, in factories and business offices, in hospitals and clinics, in homes, schools, civic meetings, and any place where people normally meet, work, play or live. No ivory tower for them! They know that arm-chair philosophizing does not produce the basic social data. Hence they are "out there" where the people are, interviewing, taking case histories of persons and groups, observing and recording events. They know that such careful observing, recording, and ordering of data provide the indispensable foundation for the formulating of hypotheses. They also know that most hypotheses can be tested only by making new observations in the field.

But now let us shift our attention from sociologists at work and consider the field of sociology as a discipline. How is it to be distinguished from the other social sciences?

What is sociology?

The social sciences are generally held to include political science, economics, sociology, social psychology, and cultural anthropology. The general subject for all of them is human social life. Each special social science has within this broad field a roughly delimited garden plot of its own to cultivate. Sociology is one of the younger of the social science disciplines. During its brief history of about one hundred years, it has gardened intensively in several different patches.

If the student wishes to know which patches belong exclusively to the sociologist and where the exact boundary lines are between the social science disciplines, he will be disappointed. Social relations are *social,* not merely sociological or economic or political. As a consequence, the boundary lines have not been set up in any rigid fashion. They have remained ill defined. Thus, they have also been crossed with considerable freedom. And, recently, there has been an increasing amount of deliberate co-operation between the cultivators of the various patches, particularly between the cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, and sociologists.[1]

Nevertheless, as the student goes through this textbook, he will realize that the sociologist does have a point of view and a focus of interest which differentiate him from his social science colleagues. He will discover that the sociologist is more interested in the *general* study of human social behavior as it occurs in groups, large or small. That is, the sociologist studies human behavior with a less specialized interest than the political scientist (who is concerned with governmental functions and activities), or the economist (who examines processes concerned with "making a living," the production and distribution of goods). He will note that the sociologist seems to be more interested in the structure and functioning of societies, groups, communities, and institutions than the social psychologist (who concentrates on the social aspects of personality); and more interested in modern societies than the cultural anthropologist.

But these are mere emphases. They reflect only a current division of labor among social scientists and one that is disregarded constantly when a particular problem carries one social scientist into the field of another. All of the social sciences are pushing out into new fields and are coming more and more to overlap each other. No one of them can be embalmed in a definition. They are too vital and dynamic for that. This state of affairs, of course, is not peculiar to the social sciences. It is equally true of physics, chemistry, biology, and other physical and biological sciences.

What can be gained from introductory sociology? How much an individual student derives from an introductory sociology course depends, of course, upon his own curiosity, alertness, and effort. There is, however, much to be gained. The storehouse of sociological knowledge which the scientific approach has produced (and to which additions are being made more rapidly than ever) will be found to contain *information* that is new to the student as well as *understandings* that are new. Even material which at first looks like "old stuff," will, when really grasped, be seen in a new light. The new result will be a new point of view, a new orientation, and a more reliable understanding of the social environment in which the student lives.

[1] For example, at Harvard University, the disciplines of sociology, cultural anthropology, and social psychology have been combined into a Department of Social Relations. *See also,* John Gillin, editor, *For a Science of Social Man: Convergences in Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1954.

There *are* careers for sociologists or sociology majors, as we shall indicate below, but the primary value of introductory sociology is the gaining of a more valid understanding and perspective on human life. This, in turn, will mean a greater awareness, a greater assurance, a more effective way of tackling problems. Obversely, it will mean a decreased likelihood of being "taken in" by the theories and panaceas of soothsayers, demagogues, and self-appointed messiahs. In short, it should mean a more effective citizenship and a genuine enrichment of the student's personal life. Is there, after all, any more important reason for acquiring an education?

Careers for sociologists

It is only natural for students who find sociology interesting to wonder about combining a further pursuit of that interest with the preparation for some vocation.

First, it should be noted that sociology courses and even majors in sociology are considered to be desirable or acceptable undergraduate preparation for other fields of professional and graduate work. This is the case in preparing for careers in law, medicine, education, social work, religion, business administration, public administration, engineering, architecture, journalism, health education, vocational rehabilitation, and some others. This is one way of combining an interest in sociology with most other careers requiring further training.

For those seeking a career in business and industry, and not planning any graduate training, it should not be overlooked that some of the larger corporations are looking for unspecialized college graduates whom they can develop for various levels of management. They are seeking intelligent persons who have the ability to get along well with others and who have a good general education. Sociology courses and majors fit into such a combination.

Other possibilities not involving further graduate work exist. There are some beginning positions in public and private welfare agencies, even though a master's degree from a school of social work is required for a permanent or more satisfactory career. Recreation agencies offer positions for holders of undergraduate degrees. Some positions are open as research assistants and, with some background in statistics, as beginning statisticians. If certification requirements can be met, high school teaching positions are open. These are some of the possibilities for holders of no more than undergraduate degrees. In each case, sociology courses or a major in sociology are desirable preparation.

The chief professional opportunities for sociologists lie in college and university teaching and research. But it was estimated [1] that in 1958 about 10 per cent of the professional sociologists were employed in federal, state, local or international governmental agencies (chiefly in research and correctional work). About 10 per cent were in nonprofit civic-welfare or research organizations; and about 5 per cent were working in private industry or were self-employed.

A master's degree is the minimum requirement for professional opportunities as sociologists. Some college instructorships are open at that level, but, as the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* points out:

> . . . the Ph.D. degree is essential for attaining a professorship in most colleges or universities and is commonly required for sociologists who direct major research projects, hold important administrative positions, or act as consultants in government organizations, philanthropic or other welfare agencies, research foundations, marriage and family clinics, and business firms.[2]

If a student's interest develops to the point where he is seriously considering a career in sociology, he will need to supplement this preliminary perspective by exploring the matter further through the available publications [3] and with his instructors.

The organization of the book

In Part I, we shall be concerned with the nature of societies and their ways of life. Societies and all groups are, of course, com-

[1] *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, p. 154, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1959.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[3] Some gudiance is available in the Russell Sage Foundation publications prepared or being prepared for the American Sociological Association: Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Sociology and the Field of Corrections;* John A. Clausen, *Sociology and the Field of Mental Health;* Orville G. Brim, Jr., *Sociology and the Field of Education;* Albert F. Wessen, *Sociology and the Field of Medical Practice;* Henry J. Meyer, Jr., *Sociology and the Field of Social Work.* The 1951 *Bulletins of the American Sociological Society* (now Association), "Participation of Sociologists in Government Programs," and Wellman J. Warner's "The Roles of the Sociologists" are not too dated to provide guidance. Most helpful will be the regular reading of the major sociological journals, including the news and other items of professional interest.

posed of individual persons, and in Part II we shall look at the individual to see how, in his social setting, he acquires his personality.

We shall then be prepared to view the social processes by which human beings affect each other (Part III); their groups, classes, and races (Part IV); the communities in which they live and certain population trends (Part V); their major institutional patterns (Part VI); and, finally, social change (Part VII).

As we survey the accumulating work of sociologists, our purpose is to take a fresh and perceptive look at the social world we usually take so for granted. We want to step outside of our skins, as it were, and see ourselves and our social life in a new light—the light of the more objective view of sociology.

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Chapter 2

Human Society

The Arunta of Australia

The Stone Age culture of Australia has general features which once existed among primitive hunters elsewhere. The Australians had no access to the various neolithic inventions [New Stone Age achievements such as domestication of animals and plants, pottery and loom-weaving] which diffused widely in the more populated parts of the earth. And furthermore, one wonders if they could have used most of them, considering the nature of the desert environment of central Australia. Agriculture is impossible in most parts, even with modern technology. . . . The wonder is that human life could be maintained at all . . .

The Australians were able to survive because they had acquired over a very long period of time a distinctive way of life, a culture, which geared their human needs with the distinctive properties of their habitat. Everything about this culture, from the technical means of acquiring food . . . to the codes of social living—the kinship system, rules of etiquette, beliefs and sentiments, religious ceremonies—seems to have been . . . nearly the ultimate in efficiency for survival under the conditions imposed by the nature of the Australian habitat and the limitations of the native tool kit.

The largest dialect division of natives in central Australia was the Arunta, who numbered about 2,000 before 1900, when the famous study of them by Spencer and Gillen [1] was made. . . . The present account will describe Arunta culture in the "ethnographic present" . . . that is, as though we were observers in 1900.

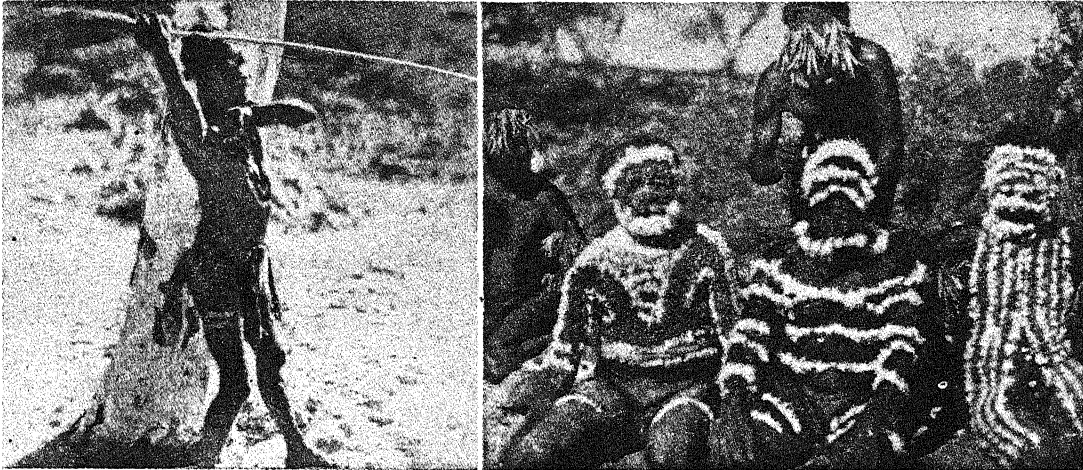
The Arunta, like the other Australian natives, face their environment with a meager assortment of crude weapons and tools. Even the bow and arrow, which is so important among primitive hunters of other parts of the world, is unknown in Australia. The Arunta depend wholly on boomerangs and spears. Added velocity and accuracy of the spear is achieved through the use of the wooden spear-thrower, an extension to the throwing arm which works on the same principle as a sling. The women use crude pointed sticks in digging roots and tubers. Cooking utensils are unknown; food is either eaten raw or roasted directly on the embers of an open fire or baked on flat stones. The Arunta make neither pottery nor baskets; large articles are carried in netted string bags and for smaller items, such as seeds, the shallow, troughlike wooden or bark *pitchi* is used.

A few simple cutting tools are made of local quartzite or diorite obtained from neighboring tribes. Stone tools are usually equipped with some sort of handle, although this is frequently no more than a coating of porcupine-grass resin or beeswax on one end of the tool. The most complex handle is a piece of wood joined to the stone by these plastic materials. Even axes, the only tool which may be said to be produced by "specialists," are hafted poorly, and a single hard blow will loosen the blade from its handle.

The Arunta eat almost all of the kinds of animal or plant life found in their habitat. Women and children scour the vicinity of the camp for seeds and bulb roots, edible fungus, eggs of both birds and reptiles, snails, "witchetty grubs" (the pupae of cossid moths), caterpillars, beetles, *amunga* flies, honey ants, and any reptiles or burrowing rodents that they can capture. The men specialize in hunting the larger animals, such as the kangaroo and the related wallaby, the large ostrichlike emu, and other smaller birds and animals.

Inasmuch as the spear is the only weapon used in hunting the larger animals, the hunter needs a great deal of stalking skill. Kangaroos are usually hunted by several men in cooperation, one remaining in ambush while the others drive the wary prey in his direction. In hunting the emu, it

Abridged from *The Arunta of Australia* in Elman R. Service, *A Profile of Primitive Culture*, pp. 5–18. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1958. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[1] Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People*, Macmillan, London, 1927.

An Arunta spearman and Arunta tribesmen making up for corroboree. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History)

is common practice for the hunter to attract the bird by dressing in a rude disguise which resembles the head and long neck of an emu. The bird seems unable to resist investigating this apparition. Sometimes emus are captured by placing a narcotic decoction (*pituri*) in a water hole. The emu becomes stupified and easily killed after he has drunk from the water. This bird is greatly valued by the Arunta, for it provides a large quantity of meat, prized feathers, and tendons from the long leg muscles which can be used as rope and twine. . . . [Smaller animals are ambushed and birds are taken at water holes.]

Each Arunta nuclear family unit [adult male, female and children] is virtually self-sufficient economically, and trade among families is therefore very rare. The only economic division of labor is by sex and age. A man, his wife, and his children provide the different kinds of labor needed for family survival. Because of various exigencies, one family may be more fortunate than another at any particular time, but rules of hospitality and generosity make for a fairly even distribution of surpluses. . . .

A typical encampment of Arunta consists of one family, or perhaps two or more brothers with their wives and children, living in crude shelters made by lacing stakes and sticks together into a low dome shape and thatching this frame with grass . . . A small fire is usually kept burning in front of, or inside, the shelter, and the people huddle close around it. Despite the often bitter night cold, the Arunta have no clothing or even wraps to cover themselves with in sleep. . . .

. . .

The small migrating families feel themselves to be part of a larger whole, . . . the "local group" . . . This is a unity of related families who range over a territory felt to belong to themselves alone. This group is exogamous and patrilocal, which is to say that a member of the group is compelled . . . to marry someone from a different local group and that a married couple make their residence in the territory of the husband's local group. . . .

[Other than the very elaborate kinship system] there is no other kind of organization, political or social, to unify the people. It is on this account that the people who roam over hundreds of square miles must pay so much attention to matters of kinship. Not only is this relationship . . . the only machinery of intergroup unity, but [the] various *kinds* of relationship serve as guides to interpersonal conduct, or etiquette.

Etiquette, in its broadest sense, is extremely important in a society which has no binding division of labor, no law courts or policemen, and whose unifying principles are thus completely personal. Under such circumstances, traditional rules of social conduct must be rigidly observed. . . .

Arunta society has a further feature which is fairly usual in the primitive world; a religious conception serves as a rationale and buttress for the social order in a form known . . . as "totemism." All of the members of a local group consider themselves descendants of a particular kind of plant or animal, the totem. All of the

various totems have spiritual residing places, "totem centers," somewhere in the territory of the local group to which they pertain, and this is also the residing place of the spirits of the ancestral members of the lineage. When a woman who has married into a particular local group becomes pregnant, the belief is that her impregnation was caused by a spirit from the local totem center which entered her body. Thus a child born into a local group is tied to that locality forever because it is the residing place of his progenitor, the ancestral spirit. . . .

. . . Thus the totemic idea, bolstered by elaborate ceremonies and rituals, plays an important role in explaining and thereby strengthening the social integration . . . The local economic and social group becomes a religious community as well. . . .

In the absence of formal political organization among the Arunta, older men, respected for their age and wisdom, make more of the community decisions than younger people, but there is no agency to enforce their wishes, and they are actually advisers rather than rulers. People obey tribal etiquette and customs largely because of the force of public opinion. . . . Warfare in the sense of organized intertribal struggles is unknown. What fighting there is, is better understood as an aspect of juridical procedure than as war. If a group or family feels wronged by an outside individual, it organizes an expedition to avenge the wrong. It is important to realize, however, that arbitration usually occurs instead of actual fighting; and the elders of both sides may confer and reach a decision. The wrongdoer's own group may actually aid in his punishment. In general, observers from Western civilization have been struck by the friendliness and hospitality of the Australian natives.

* * *

To understand some of the necessary conditions of *human* society, a comparison with a complex insect society should be helpful, hence the following selections from Karl von Frisch's famous account of the honey-bee society. Like humans, bees cannot meet their survival needs alone. They live in colonies with thousands of members, up to 70,000 in larger hives. Von Frisch's account shows how their complex division of labor is achieved through the development of three biological types: the queen, drones, and workers and by having workers change their activities with their three main age periods.

In each colony, only one female is given the food which completes her biological development into a "queen," the only bee which lays eggs.

The Honey Bee Society

Also present, but in larger numbers, are . . . the male bees or *drones* which appear in spring and early summer; later on they become useless and are then forcibly ejected by their fellow bees. We should look for them in vain during autumn and in winter. All the rest, that is the great majority of the colony, are *worker-bees.* They are females but do not lay eggs. [Instead, they look after the young.] . . . Apart from that, the workers also see to it that the hive is kept clean and at the right temperature; they remove waste matter and dead bees, act as architects of the bee residence, defend the hive if necessary, and busy themselves with the provision of food as well as with its distribution. In short, they perform all the duties with which the queen and the drones do not concern themselves, so that a well-organized division of labor exists among the members of a colony. Indeed this is carried so far that various duties are divided up again among various [age] groups of worker bees . . .

[*Worker-bee's activities during the first ten days.*] A newly emerged bee looks as ragged as a bird after its bath. . . . Her first real activity is to crawl headlong into a brood cell—it need not necessarily be her own—which has just been vacated by some newly emerged bee, to prepare it for the reception of a new egg. She may spend several minutes in it . . . then go on to occupy herself in a similar way with several other cells. These cells are cleaned and the inner walls worked over with the jaws. What effect this has is not fully known, but it is nevertheless true that the queen will only lay her eggs in cells prepared in this way. The young workers also sit on the brood cells to maintain their warmth and seem to waste much time in sitting still or walking very slowly up and down the combs. . . .

After a few days, a gland in the head of the

"The Honey Bee Society" is abridged from Karl von Frisch, *The Dancing Bees: An Account of the Life and Sense of the Honey Bee,* pp. 1–3; 36–43, Translated by Dora Ilse, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1953. Reprinted by permission.

bee becomes fully developed, indicating that she is ready for her first [major] job, that of foster-mother. Just as a new-born child cannot digest heavy food and receives everything it needs from the easily absorbed mother's milk, so in the same way bee larvae during their first day are fed with a kind of mother's milk by the foster-mothers. This "milk" consists of a liquid rich in protein which was formed in the headglands [salivary glands changed into feeding glands] and which is deposited on the floor of the cells. . . . Their protein content is derived from the reserve of pollen in the hive. . . . The older and bigger larvae which can digest somewhat coarser food are fed by the same nursemaids with honey and pollen. This tending of the young entails much work. The rearing of one single larva necessitates between two and three thousand visits to the brood cell by the foster-mother. . . . Towards the end of this first stage the [worker] bee is seen for the first time carefully emerging from the hive. She only goes a very short distance from the entrance, looking round to memorize the situation of her own hive. Soon the flights become longer. These reconnaissance flights soon lead to a knowledge of the neighborhood, . . .

[*Second period: between the tenth and twentieth day.*] The foster-mother period ends with the contraction of the feeding gland. Now, instead, the wax glands reach the height of their development, forming the foundation for the next work, that of building. In addition, workers of this "age group" take over the collected nectar, digest it, and fill the larder cells with it. . . .

The hive must be kept clean, and this job takes the workers outside. Refuse of all kinds, including the dead bodies of the inmates of the hive, is packed up and carried for a certain distance before being dropped . . . Towards the end of this second life stage, a required number sit outside the entrance [as defenders]; diligently they examine the incoming bees with their feelers, stop the impertinent wasps and other honey thieves, and hasten to attack should people, horses, or other monsters approach their settlement.

[*Third Period: from twentieth day to death.*] During this last period, the worker-bee is a forager. She flies forth to collect loads of pollen and nectar from flowers. Should the weather be bad enough to prevent flight, the foragers return unwillingly to housework, but they prefer to wait for fine weather. . . . During spring and summer—the most strenuous periods of foraging—a worker-bee, as a rule, does not live for more than four or five weeks. . . . A different rule holds for those bees that have emerged from their cells between later summer and autumn. They keep alive through the winter season, during which no new brood is being reared, and may attain an age of several months.

The queen herself lives longer than all the rest. She is able to perform her duties as mother of the colony for a period of four or five years.

[To find out whether these "age roles" of the worker bees were determined solely by maturational changes, Dr. von Frisch created a situation whereby one colony was deprived of its foragers, and another colony was deprived of most of its brood nurses. With nobody to bring in the food, the meager stores of the first colony were soon used up.] . . . At the end of the second day we had to witness the sad spectacle of some bees lying on the ground starving to death, while other bees started dragging their own larvae out of their cells to suck them dry in their need. Then, suddenly, on the third day, came the turning point. Contrary to all tradition, young bees only one or two weeks old flew out foraging and returned heavily laden with food. Though their fully developed salivary glands stamped them as foster-mothers it was the need of the colony, and not the state of their bodily development, that determined the behaviour of these bees. Their glands had to follow suit, becoming reduced in size in a few days' time. [In the second colony] . . . there was a shortage of brood nurses. Here, every bee that was still the least bit youthful stepped into the breach, retaining her fully developed salivary glands long after the end of the customary period.

In another experiment the majority of the builders were removed . . . [thus confronting this colony] with a situation in which the making of new cells was an urgent necessity. And constructed they were. The building this time was carried out by bees that had long since passed the age of normal builder-bees. Microscopic examination revealed that their wax glands, by now atrophied, had been built up again and had reached an astonishing degree of new development.

[Such] severe disturbance in the organization . . . would never occur under normal circumstances. But to a lesser degree, the requirements of the colony constantly change. Sometimes there are more, sometimes fewer hungry bees. After a period of bad weather, there may suddenly be a time of rich harvest, and many more bees are needed to gather it in. A rich

harvest requires many empty cells in which to store it, and so from one day to the next the need for wax and new combs becomes urgent. The bees meet these varying requirements [of the colony] by developing their glands and feeding juices accordingly.

* * *

Animal and human societies

It is said that entomologists, the scientists specializing in the study of insects, sometimes amuse themselves by comparing insect societies with human societies. They enjoy noting that the well-run, smoothly organized insect societies have no adult or juvenile crime, no neglect of offspring, no unemployment, nor other of the many social problems crowding the front pages of our daily papers.

For an indoor sport, such a comparison has interesting possibilities. But our purpose in comparing one of the simplest human societies with one of the most complex insect societies is to bring into sharp relief some of the necessary conditions of human society.

If an animal society is to thrive over a time, its members must behave in ways which will enable them 1) to meet their own physical needs in terms of their environment, 2) to reproduce their kind, and 3) to integrate their activities (including whatever division of labor exists, whether it be simple or elaborate).

To meet these minimum requirements for societal survival, animals depend largely upon the inherited, standard ways of behaving (usually called *instincts*), supplemented by some learning and some communication.

In the case of our honey bees, the complex division of labor is achieved primarily through differentiation into three physical types, and through the three major maturational stages of the worker bees. Because of biological inheritance, the various behaviors are standard for each type and age. But without at least some capacity to learn and to communicate with each other, such complex behavior could not be co-ordinated, nor could it be adapted to changing conditions.

In his book, Dr. von Frisch describes in great detail how the energies of the thousands of bees in the colony are organized through heredity, learning, and communication for the reproduction of their kind; the care of the young; the building, repairing, and cleaning of their shelter; the maximum extraction of food from the environment; the storage and use of this food; and the defense of the colony. Without these varied but co-ordinated activities, an individual bee cannot exist. Neither can the colony survive without meeting these minimum conditions.

Turning now to human society, we recognize first of all that, for continued existence, it too must meet the same kinds of basic conditions as required in animal societies.

Furthermore, humans cannot escape the effect of biological inheritance any more than can the bees. Just as the biological inheritances of the bees determine their *physical needs* and determine the particular combination of *inherited behavior patterns, learning,* and *communicating* capacities within which the bee society must manage to continue existence in its particular environment, so human society is also tied to man's biological inheritance.

However, it is this very biological inheritance which makes possible the enormous difference found between human and animal societies. Particularly to be emphasized are man's infinitely greater learning, inventing, remembering, and abstracting capacities—and his infinitely greater communicating capacities. Because of these capacities, we find man meeting his minimum societal survival needs primarily through *learned* behavior—behavior which does not come ready-made but is invented, generally agreed-upon, and transmitted through communication.

Even in primitive societies such as the Arunta, the members supply their *physical wants* through learned, agreed-upon, that is, *normative* patterns of behavior. Their *activities* are co-ordinated and integrated into a sufficient degree of social order through the same kind of learned, normative behavior patterns. And even the reproduction of new members is carried on within a learned, normative framework of understandings and expectations.

This meeting of the basic conditions of continued existence (plus any elaboration of "wants" beyond the survival minimum) by means of learned, normative behavior rather than by primarily hereditary mechanisms is the great difference between human and animal societies.

It follows that because of this dependence upon learned, normative behavior, a new survival need emerges: *the continuation of the normative social system itself.* This prerequi-

site for the continuance of a human society must also be met through learned, normative behavior. We see this operating chiefly in the society's patterned ways for socializing the young (enabling them to acquire their group's ways). But there are also the behavior patterns which function to maintain and reinforce the normative social order.

Until European settlers encroached upon and disrupted the Arunta "way of life," their social system for meeting basic survival needs was successfully continued from generation to generation. This included not only the technological know-how for physical survival in the desert—an achievement which a modern, urbanite is apt to underrate—but also the elaborate kinship system by which interpersonal, family, and local group relations were regulated. It included their morale-maintaining rituals and beliefs and all the other customary behaviors which constituted a part of their social system.

Let us now take a closer look at the imperatives of human social existence which we shall call the *functional prerequisites* of an ongoing human society.[1]

Functional prerequisites of human society

Provision for the adequate physiological functioning of its members

The members require food and water. They require protection against the elements—shelter, clothing, etc.—as well as protection against injury from other persons or animals. This heading would include the special physical care required by the young as well as all the ways and means by which the ill and the injured can be brought back to "normal" functioning.

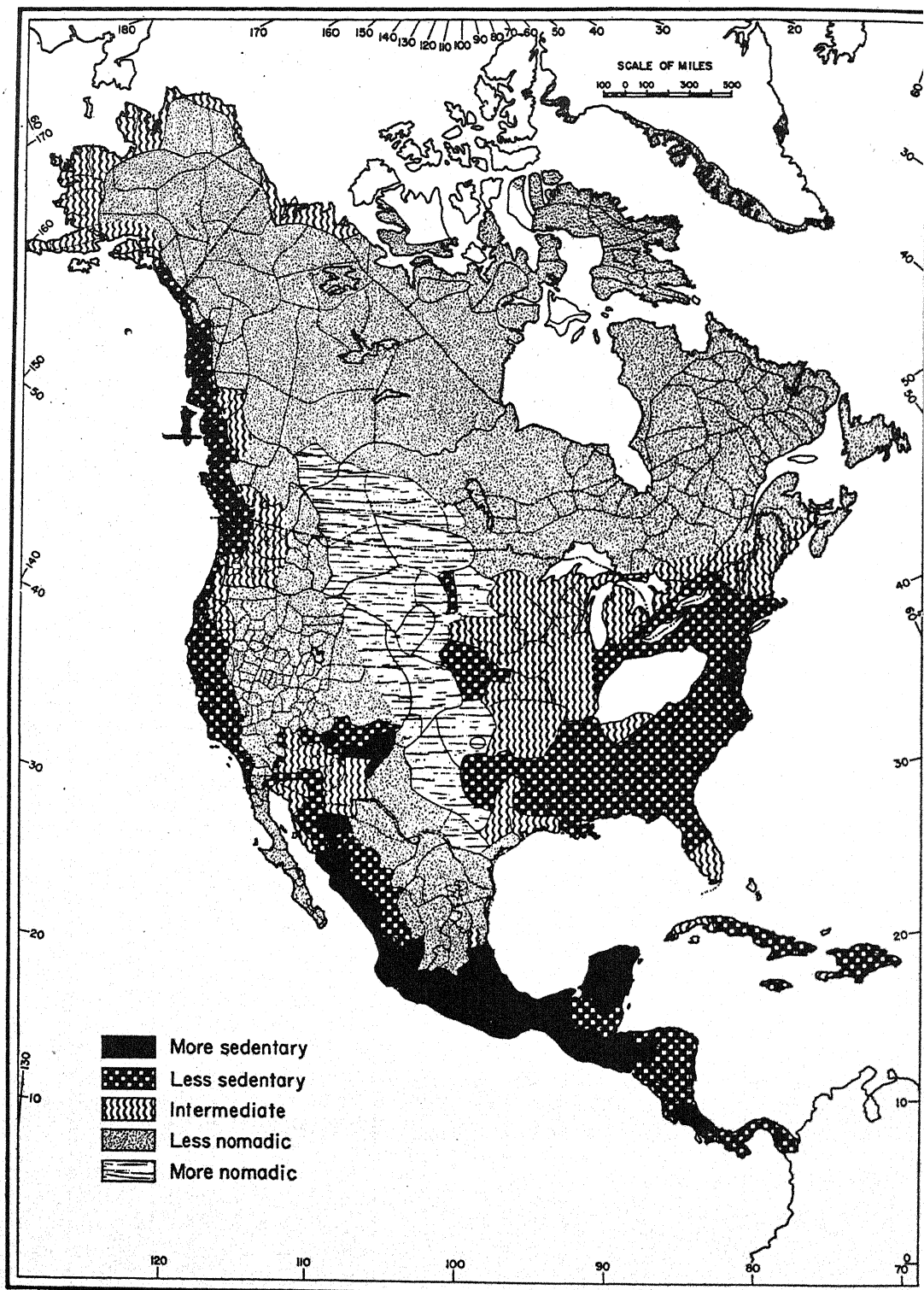
The very minimum conditions are of course determined by the physiological requirements of each human organism in relation to its external physical environment. Otherwise the organism dies. Even so, the organism's basic needs can usually be met in a variety of ways, and the usual physical environment provides the materials for a variety of ways. The Arunta diet illustrates nutritional alternatives beyond those most of us would consider. At the same time, their physical environment is to be seen as a very limiting one. We would say that their ways of meeting their physiological needs were largely "dictated" by their very limited natural environment. But not entirely dictated, for even under desert conditions, there are a variety of patterns around the world—as there are also under limited arctic conditions. And when it comes to the other social patterns—kinship, political, and religious—an even greater variety of patterns within similar physical environments has been worked out by human societies. The biological make-up of man and his physical environments provide *limits* within which survival must be achieved. (See map, next page.) But they do not *determine* the normative social order by which survival is achieved. Usually there are alternative methods by which a human society can provide for the adequate physiological functioning of its members.

Provision for the integration of activities and orderly social relations

Even in the relatively simple Arunta society, we see that survival requires some division of labor by sex and age—as, for example, the division of work between husband and wife and the children of a family. A woman cannot very well care for the young and simultaneously hunt kangaroos. Even for the latter, men find it advantageous to co-operate in a hunting party with its own division of labor. A more detailed account of the Arunta way of life would show considerable division of labor, all very well co-ordinated into a functioning unity.

For the most part, the integration of this division of labor is achieved through a general agreement (worked out in the past) that persons in certain positions (the mother position, for example) are to do certain things in each of a variety of situations or relationships. In Arunta society, she is to forage for and prepare certain kinds of food (this is also expected of her in her position as wife). She is to care for her children and let them nurse for four or five years, etc. *Status* is the term we apply to each position. The general behavior expected of the occupant of such a position is called a *role*. Thus by having a division of labor by positions, each with its role of expected behaviors, the many things which are to be done in a society are clearly

[1] After John W. Bennett and Melvin M. Tumin, *Social Life*, p. 45, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1948. "Societal necessities" is the term used by Kingsley Davis in *Human Society*, pp. 28–31, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1949. Walter Goldschmidt speaks of "social imperatives" in *Man's Way*, pp. 61–105, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1959.

SCALE OF MILES
100 0 100 300 500
More sedentary
Less sedentary
Intermediate
Less nomadic
More nomadic

assigned. This is the chief basis of orderliness.

It should also be noted that the assignment of labor duties, or for that matter, the assignment of rights and duties in general, is to positions (*statuses*) rather than to specific persons occupying them. There will be many mothers but each occupant of that position is expected to carry out the functions which the society has assigned to the status of mother. If the tribe has a chief and the chief dies, the group must be assured that the same duties will be fulfilled by his successor. At any one time, a particular person occupies a number of statuses, and in the course of life he will occupy a series of statuses. In each position, the role expectations are ready-made to guide him in his behavior. Were this not the case, there would be neglect, confusion, and a breakdown in the ordered ongoing of the group's life.

Social norms. All more or less agreed-upon and expected behavior, whether attached to specific statuses and roles or not, is, as we have noted, normative behavior. The term *social norms* thus covers all the standard behavior expectations. It includes the folkways, mores, and legal and institutional ways which we will discuss in the next chapter. It includes the expected behavior patterns found in roles. It includes all the shared ways of thinking and feeling, of noticing and responding. It includes the shared attitudes and values, the shared understandings and frames of reference. It includes all the shared ideas of the proper, the good, and the true. The order we see in a society is, therefore, to be attributed to the norms. This is what we mean when we say that a human social order is a normative order. For humans, such a normative integration is a prerequisite to the functioning of the society.

(Opposite) Nomadic-sedentary differences among North American Indians illustrate various adaptations to the environment in terms of food supply. True nomadic life prevailed on the Great Plains where the roaming buffalo was the chief source of food. Where caribou, moose, and smaller animals were abundant (most of Canada), a less nomadic life was possible. Sedentariness increased with a more ample, year-around food supply; acorns in California, salmon along the Northwest Coast, and maize agriculture in Eastern United States. Completely settled life rested upon more intensive agriculture as in the Pueblo area and in Meso- and Central America. (By permission from Harold E. Driver and William C. Massey, "Comparative Studies of North American Indians," vol. 47, Part 2, p. 184. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1957)

Replacement of members

Obviously, an ongoing human society must replace its members. Sometimes new members are obtained from other societies through voluntary immigration or sometimes even through conquest or purchase. But no society we know of has relied primarily on such recruitment. The primary reliance has always been on the biological reproduction of its own members. In the long run, no society could continue without such reproduction.

Maintenance and continuation of the social system

Here we return to the "emergent" prerequisite of a human society. As we have emphasized, the social order of an animal society such as our honey bees is *genetically* perpetuated. The bees cannot help behaving the way they do. But the situation is utterly different in the case of human beings. An average child comes into the world with the inherited capacities for acquiring the general ways of *any* society. He can learn Arunta ways or the ways of contemporary Americans, Canadians, Russians, or Chinese. He can become a saint or a criminal. Within the limits of his own inherited endowment, he can acquire any kind of behavior pattern ever manifested by humans anywhere.

The continuation of a human social system, therefore, is not guaranteed by any hereditary predispositions to set behavior patterns. It is dependent entirely upon learning. Moreover, in addition to learning the normative ways, humans must be motivated to behave according to these ways. When the range of possible behaviors and the range of possible human desires are considered, the phenomenon of customary behavior is in reality an astounding one. How is it achieved? And how is it maintained and continued?

Socialization of the new members. The problem of continuing the social system of a human society through learning obviously cannot be solved without seeing to it that the newly arrived young members *learn* the ways of the society. All the experiences involved in this learning, deliberate or casual, we call *socialization.*

Granted the necessity of socialization, there remains the problem of actually succeeding in the attempt. Fortunately, however, the situation is loaded in favor of the society. The newborn babe lacks any inherited tendencies toward acquiring the customs of a specific social system. He is completely dependent upon his learning experiences. In this relatively plastic and helpless state, he, without any choice on his part, begins his development in a particular group of persons who share the behavior ways of a particular society. Their normative behavior patterns become his model for the pattern and organization of his own behavior. And before he is old enough to go it alone, he has made their ways his own. The details of this learning process are not our concern at this point. We are just observing that the outcome is more or less inevitable. A child growing up in an English-speaking family and society is not going to speak Russian, even though at birth he had the innate capacity to learn Russian as his first language. So it is with all behavior potentialities. They are shaped by the ways of the group in which he is reared.

However a caution should be noted. We do not mean to say that the normative behavior models are molds which produce identical copies. After all, it is the child that does the learning. We need only to recall our own childhood to realize that our learning was often imperfect, that our behavior often took experimental or rebellious tacks away from the norms. It may have taken more than a little effort and patience on the part of our parents and others to bring us around to reasonable conformity. But, generally speaking, ongoing human groups do succeed quite well in having their ways adopted by their offspring so that the group ways are, as it were, built into the very personality structure of the new members. This is the socialization process, and without it no society could continue its social system.

Maintenance of normative behavior. For the social order to be continued, however, more than the socialization of the young is required. Departure from normative behavior is not only a constant possibility at any age, but it is also an ever-present tendency. Even at best, the internalization of the social norms can scarcely be so complete that a person's own desires exactly coincide with the social expectations of his group. We find every society making allowance for a margin of deviation from the ideal norms. And, it must be admitted that, in the case of some persons, notorious criminals for example, the learning of the social ways appears to be a dismal failure.

Furthermore, in large societies like ours, we find many subgroups which develop somewhat divergent ways. When we add to such a heterogeneous situation the mobility of persons from one subgroup into another, and when we also add the rapidly changing technological developments of our time, the problem of maintaining a generally agreed-upon system of behavior becomes more severe.

Social control is the term sociologists apply to all the ways and means by which any society achieves and maintains a normative social system. The chief reliance for social control is, of course, upon the internalization of the society's norms, as in the socialization of the young. But because norms are learned patterns of behavior, they require constant reinforcement to maintain the learning. Furthermore, in the face of changing conditions, new norms are evolved and these must also be internalized and reinforced.

Aside from habit, the chief allies of the society in maintaining normative behavior are to be found in the desires of persons for the satisfactions of being accepted and approved by other persons, and in the desires for a consistent and dependable social environment. Thus in the course of daily activities of many kinds, persons find it more rewarding to behave in expected ways.[1] There is less frustration that way, and there are many more satisfactions. Similarly, life can go more smoothly and securely when others also behave in expected fashion. As a consequence, everyone has a stake in not only his own compliance with the norms but also in the conformity of other members to his group's norms. Deviation beyond a certain degree of tolerance is met with resistance. Disapproval is shown in one way or another. Friendship and other social rewards may be withdrawn on an informal basis.

Such informal rewards and punishments, real and anticipated, are sufficient to keep most persons on a "norm-abiding" basis. But social control also includes all the modes by which rewards are withdrawn and punishment ap-

[1] See Homan's discussion of *Social Control* in *The Human Group, Chap.* 1, pp. 281–312, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., New York, 1950.

plied in the case of more serious violations. The Arunta had their standard ways of coping with serious violations, and we have ours in our elaborate system of law enforcement. Power to penalize and isolate the deviators is legitimatized—that is, is assigned to officers of the law in agreed-upon ways which are believed to be necessary to group welfare. Thus we have *authority*.

Another aspect of social control is the assignment of authority (legitimate power) to make certain classes of decisions for the society. Among the Arunta, the elders came closest to having such authority for the local group. In other societies, this authority is invested in the chief, or in a council. And in our own society, we recognize the many kinds of persons who, as occupants of certain positions, are empowered to decide or act for the society or the community—from the President of the United States or a Justice of the Supreme Court to a city councilman or schoolboard member.

Social control is also a function or consequence of rituals, ceremonies, and the group symbols which Durkheim called "collective representations." So we see the authority of the President reinforced in the minds of citizens by his inauguration ceremonies and by the display of the presidential seal when he speaks on TV. Modern societies have their king or queen, their flags, their national anthems, their national memorials like the Unknown Soldier's Tomb. These are the collective representations. They stand for, they symbolize, the society and its ways. The ceremonial saluting of the flag, the standing and singing of the national anthem, these and many other patriotic observances all serve to reinforce the loyalty of the members to the national life.

Maintenance of meaning and purpose

Here we have another human "emergent." Unlike an animal society, an ongoing human society must give sufficient attention to keeping its members imbued with a sense of meaning and purpose. This might be classified under the heading of social control, for without a sense of meaning and purpose, the social motivation of persons will wither away. Each society will have an ideology which explains to its members why its way of life has significance, and often special significance. There are many variations of being "chosen people" or having a "divine destiny." Sometimes the importance to one's ancestors of maintaining the way of life is emphasized. Or again, the emphasis is on the value to future generations.

But the question of meaning and purpose is more than a matter of social control. Without it, even the physiological functioning of a person may be endangered. We have much clinical evidence of what the loss of a sense of meaning—"something to live for"—can do to undermine health or to destroy all desire to continue living.

It has been demonstrated that the sense of meaning and purpose is intimately tied to the satisfactory relations of persons to each other. But we can also observe that the meaning of life to an individual, or even the meaning of a group's life to its members, finds anchoring in values and purposes which transcend the ordinary and the provable. This is true not only of the person who finds this anchoring in conventional religion but also of the superpatriot who places a mystical value upon his own society's destiny. It is even true of the kind of scientist who denies all religious orientation but who has great faith—faith beyond proof—in the value of the scientific method to the future welfare of mankind. So in one way or another, the maintenance of meaning is tied to "right" relationships to one's fellows and to the "powers of the universe" however conceived.

Interrelatedness of the functional prerequisites. Before we go on to the sixth prerequisite, it may be appropriate to note the interrelatedness of the prerequisites. We have just suggested that the maintenance of meaning and purpose not only is a part of social control but is also important in the maintenance of physical functioning. We could go on to point out its relatedness to the other prerequisites.

Similarly, we can see how the physical care of the child by the mother serves to promote socialization. Through the provision of food and comforting touch, favorable sentiments are developed not only toward the mother but toward other people. The collective meeting of the threat of injury from enemies—as in warfare—will do much to foster social control, to reinforce authority, and to intensify the sense of meaning and purpose. Satisfaction in the fulfillment of one's roles contributes to the maintenance of orderly relations, health, meaning, and even the reproduction of the group. These are but a few examples. Throughout the book we will have many more examples of the interrelatedness and mutual

The wagging dance pattern. In positions (b) and (e), the forager points her body toward the source of food, relative to the sun. Distance to the feeding place is communicated by the speed of the dance. (Courtesy Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.)

On a vertical comb surface, a straight-up position in the waggle dance means that the food is in the direction of the sun, as shown in (a). In (b) and (c), angles from the sun's position are indicated by the dance. (Courtesy Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.)

dependency of the prerequisites of the dynamic unity we call an ongoing human society.

Symbolic communication

The last prerequisite of an ongoing human society is adequate communication. We have seen that even in the bee society, communication is necessary to co-ordinate the complex activities. In fact, the closer we look at the bee society, the more impressed we become with not only the amount but also the methods of communication. It was Dr. von Frisch, the author of the passage quoted, who first identified the "waggle dance" pattern by which the returning forager bee communicates to her fellows the location of a rich food source. As shown above, the direction is communicated by the position of her body as she begins each turn of the "dance"; and the distance, by the speed with which she repeats the movements. In his chapter on "The Language of the Bees," von Frisch describes the many ways in which bees succeed in communicating to each other.

But as amazing as the bee's communicating abilities are, they are still limited (and by human terms, extremely limited.) Their signs are tied to the immediate situation or action. Of course, some communication of humans is of the same order: running and screaming with fright, or pointing to an object. But true language consists of agreed-upon sounds which stand for, that is *symbolize*, objects and actions. Even such concrete phenomena can then be referred to meaningfully whether present or not, whether existent in the past or in the future. Furthermore, symbols can be used to refer to many levels of abstraction—classes of objects such as chairs, trees or groups; to processes such as flying or visiting, or taking the cube root of a number; to abstract concepts being used in this chapter, such as kinship, society, heredity, norms, learning; or any of the many concepts of science such as energy, time, space, and relativity; or such concepts as freedom and justice.

This is not the place to point out all that this capacity to think and communicate symbolically has meant in the development of man's intellectual life or how it has permitted man to pass his achievements from one generation to another and thus to build up the social heritage. Obviously it is man's language ability which permits the complexity and richness of the social world in which we now live. Our emphasis at the moment is the ne-

cessity of language in the creation, maintenance, and continuance of human society.

Even at the Arunta level of social life, the daily co-ordination of the social system would break down without verbal communication. Without it, children could not learn the hard-won knowledge from the past or acquire the attitudes and values which would make them Arunta. If humans were equipped by their biological inheritance with a multitude of ready-made behavior patterns, perhaps simple human social life could go on without a system of symbolic communication. But humans are not so equipped. As we have stated before, they are dependent upon learning. It is through learning that they create their normative social orders, and the very functioning and transmitting of their social systems are dependent upon learning. The necessary correlate of such a quantity and quality of learned behavior is a high communicative ability of the order we call symbolic communication, or language. Without language not even a simple human society could exist. Symbolic communication is simply a prerequisite of human society.

These, then, are the minimum requirements of an on-going human society, any human society.

Structure and function

Our comparison with animal society made clear that the distinctively human necessity is the production of a social order or structure which rests upon learning and symbolic communication and which is normative in nature.

The social *structure* and such "parts" of it as norms, roles, groups, communities, and institutions will, of course, receive our special attention in this book. We shall return to structure again and again. But as a part of our initial perspective we need to keep in mind that even though structure connotes something static like a building, it is a "living" structure. Social structures are created, they are maintained after a fashion for a time, and they change.

We also need to keep in mind that the social structure of any society is (at least in part) the result of the attempt of humans to meet the various prerequisites of existence. We say "in part" because man has shown a great tendency to elaborate his "wants" beyond his minimum social requirements. But, whether minimal or elaborate, the structure or the various parts of the structure are developed to accomplish certain ends, to meet certain needs or wants, in other words, to serve certain functions. This is what we mean when we speak of the *function* of some aspect of the social structure; we refer to what the social structure or any of its parts "does"—what consequence or consequences it has (whether intended or not) upon persons, upon groups, upon some other aspect of the social structure, or upon the society as a whole.

If our goal were the scientific understanding of the human body, we would make a similar structural-functional approach. In structural analysis (anatomy), we would speak of arms and legs, of eyes and ears. We would identify skin, bones, muscles, and glands. We would study such small units as cells and such large units as organs. But the human body cannot be understood by just analyzing its parts. Anatomy needs to be supplemented by physiology. Which is to say, we also need to know how the parts are related to each other, how they affect each other, or how they function to maintain the total organism.

Similarly, the understanding of human society requires more than structural analysis. It also requires a knowledge of the function or functions which any part of the social structure has in relation to any other part or to the maintenance of the society as a whole.

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Chapter 3

Culture

While doing field research among the Pomo Indians in northern California in the late 1930's, Burt Aginsky became familiar with an old Indian man. Over a hundred years old he had known life as it was before any whites had come into his territory. He had lived through the Spanish raids, the white massacres, and the herding of his people into reservations. What follows is from Aginsky's record of the old man's eloquent discourse on the changing family situation.

An Indian's Soliloquy

What is a man? A man is nothing. Without his family he is of less importance than that bug crossing the trail. . . . A man must be with his family to amount to anything with us. If he had nobody else to help him, the first trouble he got into he would be killed by his enemies because there would be no relatives to help him fight the poison [sorcery, black magic] of the other group. No woman would marry him . . . [for her] family would not consider him worth anything. He would not bring renown or glory with him. He would not bring support of other relatives either. . . . It is the family that is important. In the white ways of doing things the family is not so important. . . .

. . . in the old days before the white people came the family was given the first consideration by anyone who was about to do anything at all.

"An Indian's Soliloquy" is from Burt W. Aginsky, *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. *46*, pp. 43–44 (July, 1940). Copyright (1940) by the University of Chicago Press. Also by permission of the author.

That is why we got along. We had no courts, judges, schools, and the other things you have, but we got along better than you. We had poison, but if we minded our own business and restrained ourselves we lived well. We were taught to leave people alone. We were taught to consider that other people had to live. We were taught that we could suffer from the devil-spirits, ghosts, or other people if we did not support one another. . . . Each person was nothing, but as a group joined by blood the individual knew that he would get the support of all his relatives if anything happened. . . .

That is why we were good people and why we were friends with the white people when they came. But the white people were different from us. They wanted to take the world for themselves. . . . They came . . . and settled on our property. They had no manners. They did not know how to get along with other people. . . . They have taken everything away from the Indians, and they take everything away from one another. They do not help one another when they are in trouble, and they do not care what happens to other people. We were not like that. We would not let a person die of starvation when we had plenty of food. We would not bury our dead with no show. . . . Your people are hard to understand. My brother lived with your people for twenty years, and he said that he was used to you; but he cannot understand yet why you people act as you do. . . .

* * *

The preceding glimpse into the Pomo way of life is another illustration of how the ways of societies can vary. The excerpt which follows illustrates the variation to be found in an interesting subgroup of our own society. But in each case, as the reader will note, normativeness is a characteristic feature.

The Skid Road Wino

In his life on Skid Road, the wino has many associations with small groups of men. These associations, generally of three or four men, tend to be very informal and frequently of short duration since their primary function is the procure-

"The Skid Road Wino" is from W. Jack Peterson and Milton A. Maxwell, "The Skid Road 'Wino,'" *Social Problems*, vol. 5, pp. 308–316, Spring, 1958. Reprinted by permission of the authors and the Journal. Even though "Skid Row" is often used, the original term is "Skid Road," having had its beginning along a logging skid road in Seattle's early history.

ment and consumption of wine. . . . But no matter how transitory the specific groups may be, almost all wino drinking is done in such groups, and groups tend to be formed within a range of acquaintances. Furthermore, the sense of obligation toward all wino companions with whom a man has associated is great.

This brings up the most imperative of the mores in wino culture: the obligation to share. The wino will share his money and his wine with another wino and unquestioningly expects the same treatment in return. Reciprocity is a must. It is the "Dick Smith" or "chiseler" who will accept a drink and not give one, or who, when he has a bottle of his own, will go off and drink it by himself. Such a person is shunned by winos and such behavior is severely condemned, for sharing is a matter of survival. As one of the wino informants pointed out:

> For a wino to survive as a wino he needs to be among people and especially other winos. . . . He needs someone to get him something to drink when he is sick and broke. Where it would be difficult for an individual to keep enough money for liquor coming in, two or three men bumming together can usually manage to keep enough money coming in for wine.

Winos have two main sources of money: work and bumming. By the time a person becomes a wino, his earning capacity is generally not very great. It tends to be confined to short term and "spot" jobs, and work is undertaken with only one purpose in mind: to earn money for wine. [However] . . . such money never lasts long. Obligations have to be paid back, drinks shared, and loans for "flops" provided. But he knows that others will do the same for him when he is broke. By sharing what little they earn, winos can make that little go a long way.

The other method of obtaining money is "bumming"—either by straight-out panhandling or some more indirect method on the street, or by approaching "live ones" (workers or others who have money) drinking at Skid Road bars. . . . [Wino groups have only two roles]: the "promoter" and the "runner." Anyone can approach another to start a group. Two or three may be asked to join in "piecing out a bottle." If between them, they do not "hold" the price of a bottle, they will have to "promote" the difference. A man skillful in bumming money is known as a "promoter," and is sought out by groups. . . .

As soon as a group succeeds in piecing out a bottle, "the baby is born." Now comes the selection of a "runner" to be sent to buy the bottle. A great deal is at stake by this time, and the runner must be selected with care. A person who is too dirty, too poorly dressed, or who shows obvious signs of intoxication is a poor risk, for he is likely to be picked up by the police. But of all considerations, the prime one is trustworthiness—someone who will not "go south" with the money or the bottle.

Next in importance to obtaining wine is finding a place to sleep, and winos will help each other in this. In summer, any sheltered nook where he can get out of sight of the police will serve his needs, but in cold weather, he has a problem. . . . A wino who has some money (who is "stakey") will give or loan his budey the price of a flop . . . [which] may range from 25 to 75 cents. The flop house is usually a room as full of beds or cots as the health inspector will allow. The beds will be much the worse for wear, with a poor excuse for a mattress, and a dirty blanket. But at least a man can lie down and not freeze.

In some cities, a wino can sit up all night in a movie house. But if all else fails and the wino cannot find a warm place to sleep or stay, he may be forced "to carry the banner," that is, walk the streets all night, hoping to catch some sleep the next day in a bus or railroad station or any place where he can keep warm and not be picked up by the police.

Two other problems which winos help each other meet are protection from the police and [the problem of] illness. First of all, they share their knowledge about the local police, judges and jails, and the grapevine quickly warns of unusual police activity in the area. They help each other take protective measures and they pull their incapacitated buddies out of sight of the police. They take care of each other in minor illnesses, and when the illness is greater, they try to get the man to whatever medical help is available to them, often at the jail. In the latter case, they may place their buddy where the police will be sure to pick him up. . . .

If sharing in these various ways is a basic requirement, certain other expectations are better stated as negative mores, or tabus. The most stringent tabu on Skid Road is that against "going south" with the money for a bottle. This is the surest way of getting the reputation of being a "chiseler," and the grapevine will spread the news that a man is a "chiseler"—even from one city to another.

Breaches of honor somewhat less important but still serious enough to classify the culprit as a chiseler include "breaking into a pitch." When a wino has found a "live one" to buy him drinks or food, no other wino is to capitalize on the same individual at the same time.

There is also a tabu against becoming dependent upon missions. Winos have little respect for the majority of Skid Road missions and will exploit them frequently, yet, they look down on the wino who hangs around them all of the time. Such a person is a "mission stiff."

Nor dare a wino become too dirty. . . . a man who gets too dirty cannot be successful in bumming and is therefore a sheer liability to other winos.

A final and interesting tabu is that against talking about their troubles. Winos can tell sad stories about their lives, stories told many times to policemen, judges, mission workers, and "live ones" who may have listened. Winos are not, however, to bother each other with these stories. Every wino has had enough troubles of his own. . . .

Men guilty of violating the mores and tabus of the wino culture will be avoided by other winos—excluded from wino association. It must in all honesty be observed, however, that such a situation is not absolutely irreversible. All it takes for a man suddenly to regain a host of "friends" and an elevated status is to come into some money and be willing to share it. His grievous faults suddenly evaporate. He may even be permitted to tell his troubled life story and his beneficiaries will pretend to lend an ear. For anyone is a "good guy" if he has a dollar, and a prince of a fellow if he has five.

[Many more examples could be given of the wino's distinctive language.] Learning this language is a part of the assimilation process. Its chief function, perhaps, is to indicate that a person "belongs," that he is an insider. It provides for quick acceptance in a new city, for the language is widely used with but relatively minor regional differences. The man who speaks the language indicates thereby that he shares the wino "universe of discourse," not just the words but also a common background of experience, similar assumptions and viewpoints.

The major institutions of the wino are the tavern, the flophouse, the mission, and the jail. They play indispensable roles in the wino way of life. The tavern is his social center, providing in addition to a bar, a large area for card playing. On fight nights, the TV is popular. In the tavern he contacts his fellow winos, taps the grapevine, rubs shoulders with men of other strata, and here he is most apt to find "live ones." As for the flophouse, mission, and jail, some indication of their function in his life has already been presented.

For a complete description of the wino way of life, of course, much greater detail regarding his language and institutions would be in order. But the present purpose has been to sketch enough of his life to show that the wino does not belong to a category of rejected isolates, but that he does live as a social being in a subsociety of his own. . . .

* * *

Culture and society

In the previous chapter, the learned, normative character of man's behavior was underscored. We observed some of the normative patterns of the Arunta "way of life." We have just seen that even the Skid Road wino lives within a normatively patterned social structure. We have also caught a glimpse through the eyes of an old Indian of the substantial differences, as he saw them, between the Pomo and the American ways of life. Now we come to the concept which social scientists apply to such ways of life: *culture*.

What is culture?

In 1871, E. B. Tylor gave a descriptive definition of culture which still holds its own: ". . . that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." [1]

There are those who would add to this definition. They would specify some of the important "other capabilities and habits" such as *language* and the *techniques for making and using tools*. Or they would make clear that shared ways of *thinking* and *feeling* are to be included. But all these are implied if not specified in Tylor's comprehensive characterization of culture. Culture is to include all that which is "acquired [learned] by man as a member of society." Culture consists of all learned, normative behavior patterns—that is, all shared ways or patterns of *thinking* and *feeling* as well as *doing*.

Culture objects. With the stress on learned,

[1] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, p. 1. Brentano's, New York, 1924.

shared, and, hence, communicated, behavior patterns, what about the objects which man makes, or the natural objects toward which he behaves in prescribed ways or to which he attributes meaning of some sort? Are they to be included as a part of culture? What about his tools such as flint scrapers, fire, plows, automobiles, electronic computers, or interplanetary rockets? What about mountains like Fujiyama or rivers like the Ganges which are held to be sacred? Are these objects culture?

On this point, usage is divided. There are anthropologists who would include the objects in their definition of culture. There are other anthropologists who hold that *only that which can be communicated* can be a part of culture. The latter would say that only the knowledge and the techniques for making and using these objects, and their meaning to their makers or users are a part of culture. Sociologists generally take the latter position—as we will in this book—and use the term *culture object* to refer to an object itself.

Culture and society distinguished. Let us go back to the Arunta. We noted that, in 1900, the Arunta had been a group of about 2,000 persons who lived in a given territory and were somehow distinguishable from other Australian desert inhabitants. How were they distinguishable? The answer: by their behavior. Behavior is the concrete reality—human beings thinking, feeling and acting in certain ways.

From this concrete reality we abstract both society and culture. When we focus our attention on the Arunta people and observe how they as individuals and small groups are tied together in more or less of an organized unity, distinguishable from other such organized groups, we are talking about the Arunta *society*. But when we are talking about the Arunta *behavior patterns*—their customs, beliefs, language, and other shared ways of thinking, feeling and acting (which also more or less hang together in a total pattern), we are referring to the Arunta *culture*. The same distinction applies to any society. As Ralph Linton put it, "A society is an organized group of individuals. A culture is an organized group of learned responses characteristic of a particular society." [1]

Several usages follow logically from this basic distinction. First, from *a* particular society with *a* culture, we can generalize to society and culture. We can speak of human society and man's culture—of man's societal life and his cultural life.

When the cultures of a number of societies are similar, as was the case with the thirty-one Plains Indian societies (Crow, Cheyenne, Omaha, Blackfoot, Assiniboin, etc.), we can combine the similarities and speak of the "Plains culture." Similarly, we identify the "Northwest Coast culture," or the "Eastern Woodland culture," each a collective reference to the common elements in a number of societies.

In a large society, the opposite holds true. In American society, subgroups with distinctive cultures can easily be identified. There are, for example, the New Englanders and the Southerners or the Texans and the Southern Californians who reflect regional differences in culture. Or we can readily identify racial, ethnic, class, or religious groups or categories [2] with distinctive ways of life. All of these are a part of American society. But they are subgroups or subcategories recognizable by the distinctive features of their respective behavior patterns. To these comparatively distinct cultures within the culture of a larger society we apply the term *subculture*. Our Skid Road Wino culture, for example, would be classified as a subculture.

In all of the uses, however, the distinction between society and culture is consistent. Society refers to persons and groups; culture, to normative behavior patterns.

Analyzing and describing culture

The student of culture is interested in culture objects. They are an important part of the human story. The objects tell us much about man's growing knowledge. They have also formed an increasingly important part of his physical environment, as seen in the contrast, for example, between North America before Europeans came and the industrialized, urbanized North America of today.

[1] Ralph Linton, *The Tree of Culture*, p. 29, New York, A. A. Knopf, 1957.
The terms culture and society have frequently been used as interchangeable terms. However, in recent years, usage has increasingly followed the analytical distinction we have made. See, for example, the discussion by A. L. Kroeber and Talcott Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 23, pp. 582–583, 1958; and by Marion Levy, *The Structure of Society*, p. 113, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1952.

[2] *Categories* of persons are distinguished from *groups* by the lack of interaction, e.g., 18-year-olds, Negroes, persons of Italian descent, lower-middle class persons, Protestants.

The sociologist does not—in fact, cannot—ignore the culture objects or man's accumulated knowledge. But the sociologist is primarily interested in the social behavior—the behavior regularities or patterns which constitute the social structures of human society. Obviously, behavior is greatly affected by the state of man's knowledge and the objects he has made or adapted, but our sociological focus is on the social behavior itself.

Social norms

In the previous chapter, the most general term for group-shared behavior expectations, *social norms,* was discussed. A norm is a standard; social norms are group-developed and group-held standards for the behavior of the group's members.

But how does one find out about social norms? The concrete behavior of the members of a given society is bewilderingly complex. Suppose you were to make a study of a new, strange society. How would you discover what the social norms are? And how "strong" they are? How would you classify them so that you could organize your observations and compare notes with the students of other societies?

You could attack the problem of determining the existence and strength of social norms in three ways: (1) observe the frequency and regularity of specific behaviors in specific situations; (2) observe the approval and disapproval of others toward specific behaviors—the rewards, the criticisms, the punishments, all included under the term *sanctions;* and (3) get members of the society to act as informants to tell you about both (1) and (2)—tell you what the expected behaviors are and what sanctions will be applied, especially in the case of deviations from the expected behavior.[1]

If you were limited in time and money (and who isn't?), obviously the third approach would be the one you would choose. You would protect yourself against biased reporting by using a number of informants and you would probably check what they told you by at least some observations of your own. This is what was done in the wino study. Nineteen wino informants and fourteen nonwino informants close to the wino way of life were used to ascertain the social norms of the "wino society." This is the approach generally followed by cultural anthropologists.

But regardless of the extent to which informants or direct observation are used, our evidence for the existence and strength of social norms consists of (1) regularity of the behavior and (2) how obligatory the behavior is held to be.

Behavior regularity

We cannot say that a pattern exists unless certain behavior is repeated in the same or similar fashion. This is regularity. It should be noted that regularity of behavior need not be absolute uniformity to be called a pattern. In fact, in the case of human behavior patterns, uniformity is uncommon.

For example, it would be fair to say that in our society we have a pattern of stopping for a stop sign when approaching a busy thoroughfare. Yet even on the basis of casual observation we would admit that the "stopping" behavior is not uniform. One study, in fact, showed that of 1,541 drivers coming to a stop sign at a boulevard:

- 5.1 per cent came to a dead stop
- 11.5 per cent slowed down to one or two miles per hour
- 45.1 per cent slowed down to three to five miles per hour
- 35.0 per cent slowed down to six or more miles per hour
- 3.2 per cent "ignored" the sign[2]

The above findings certainly do not show uniform behavior, but the pattern of coming to a stop or a virtual stop is "there." It is a social norm. Furthermore, the norm is strongly supported, for reasons not difficult to understand. Throughway drivers must be able to depend upon the driving of others. Violations of the stopping norm, or of any of the traffic norms, can be expensive to say the least and are injurious or fatal in far too many cases. And now, in some states, such a violation increases the violator's car insurance by 20 per cent.

Following up the 3.2 per cent who ignored the stop sign would have been interesting. Were they all anti-social? We are safe in assuming that at least some of the "ignorers" of the sign were, in fact, upholders of the norm. Who of us norm-abiding drivers has not failed on some occasion to notice a sign because of

[1] *See* S. F. Nadel, *The Theory of Social Structure,* p. 24, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957.

[2] Franklin Fearing and E. M. Krise, "Conforming Behavior and the J-Curve Hypothesis," *Journal of Social Psychology,* vol. 14, pp. 109–118, August, 1941.

unusual preoccupation or because of an unusual obstruction? And how many of the 3.2 per cent would not be incensed if someone else came barging in from a side street right in front of their own car?

Sanctioning behavior

Regularity of behavior determines the presence of a social norm. But social norms have another dimension: the importance attached to a particular behavior norm. Social norms vary in their "strength." There is much more feeling attached to the murder tabu [1] than to overtime parking violations.

To determine the degree to which certain behavior is expected or demanded, we observe how much "social pressure" is brought to bear in support of the behavior. These pressures are the sanctions.

Sanctions can be positive or negative. Positive sanctions are essentially pleasant or rewarding. They are seen in formal or informal behavior which gives approval, recognition, praise, prestige, flattery, promotions, medals, honors, etc. Negative sanctioning behavior is essentially unpleasant to the recipient. It may be a mild expression of disapproval. It may be some degree of criticism, ridicule, avoidance, or withdrawal of rewards. Obviously, it includes the many kinds of legal punishments from fines to imprisonment or death. It is from sanctioning behavior that we can infer the degree of obligatoriness which members of the group attach to a particular norm under particular circumstances.

Actually, as we brought out in the discussion of social control, most compliance with the social norms comes about through the internalization of the behavior expectations. The expected behavior is adopted as the person's own. It becomes habitual. It becomes a matter of conscience. We also internalize knowledge about the sanctions, and, at times, our behavior is guided by an internal weighing of the consequences of some contemplated behavior. But when habit, conscience, and consideration of consequences are not enough to produce conforming behavior, we face the negative sanctions of others—the severity of the sanctions depending upon the importance or obligatoriness attached to the particular behavior expectation. This is as true in the wino society as in our own.

Folkways and mores

Two of the important concepts for analyzing and describing culture express degrees of obligations involved: *folkways* and *mores* (the singular is *mos*). As introduced by William Graham Sumner,[2] folkways referred to all group norms, regardless of how binding or compulsory they might be. Sumner then distinguished mores as those folkways which are felt to be important to group welfare—which arouse substantial concern and for which the sanctions are strong. In more recent usage, however, the term folkway is generally not used in the inclusive sense. Usually, the reference is to the folkways which are not mores—the behavior norms which are not obligatory and for which sanctions are weak.

Actually, as now used, folkways and mores represent distinctions along a *continuum* (a continuous scale of many degrees). Classifying degrees of obligatoriness into two categories involves the difficulty and arbitrariness of trying to classify all human beings as tall or short. Nevertheless, the folkways-mores distinction does provide us with crude concepts for talking about the degree of obligatoriness associated with particular norms.

As Sumner saw it, folkways and mores are customs or usages which "have developed out of experience" and are handed down by tradition "without rational reflection or purpose."

> Men, each struggling to carry on existence, unconsciously co-operate to build up associations, organizations, customs, and institutions which, after a time, appear full grown and actual, although no one intended, or planned, or understood them in advance. They stand there as produced by "ancestors."[3]

We cannot agree that the process of custom making is always as blindly unpremeditated as Sumner implied. But it is likely that most of our current folkways were not consciously inaugurated to become customs. They were probably initiated by individuals who viewed them as handy solutions to problems confronting them. As others began to view the solution as handy or desirable, the behavior became shared and customary. Who began the custom of shaking hands to greet a friend, or of lock-

[1] Tabu and taboo are both acceptable spellings, but anthropologists have been tending to use tabu more frequently because it is closer to the original.

[2] William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

ing forefingers as they do in the Banks Islands? Who began the custom of driving on the right-hand side of the road (or the left-hand side in England)? Sumner had a point: the origins of most folkways are "lost in mystery."

Primitive men, Sumner also contended, did not "philosophize about their experience of life," or about their mores, whereas we do. Present day anthropologists would not make Sumner's sharp distinction between preliterate man and modern man. The difference is only relative. But research does support the idea that preliterates are less inclined to explain and justify their folkways and mores. We see this well illustrated in Rasmussen's study of the Iglulik Eskimo. Each of his Eskimo friends, he reported:

> . . . knew precisely what had to be done in any given situation, but whenever I put in my query: 'Why?' they could give no answer. They regarded it . . . as unreasonable that I should require not only an account but also a justification. . . .[1]

Finally, one evening, their chief spokesman took Rasmussen on a brief tour of the village, showing him a variety of situations and asking him what these things should be. Why should there be this succession of blizzards and all this needless hardship for men seeking food for themselves and those for whom they care? Why should their wives and children suffer hunger when they have done no harm and their men have done their best? Why should there be illness and pain? Why? Why? When Rasmussen could not answer, he continued:

> "You see you are equally unable to give any reason when we ask you why life is as it is. And so it must be. All our customs come from life and turn towards life; we explain nothing. . . .
>
> "We fear the weather spirit of the earth, that we must fight against to wrest our food from land and sea. . . .
>
> "We fear death and hunger in the cold snow huts.
>
> "We fear Takanakapsaluk, the great woman down at the bottom of the sea, that rules over all the beasts of the sea.
>
> "We fear the sickness that we meet with daily all around us. . . . We fear the evil spirits . . . that can help wicked shamans to harm their fellowmen.
>
> "We fear the souls of dead human beings and of the animals we have killed.
>
> "Therefore it is that our fathers have inherited from their fathers all the old rules of life which are based on the experience and wisdom of generations. We do not know how, we cannot say why, but we keep those rules in order that we may live untroubled. And so ignorant are we in spite of all our shamans, that we fear everything unfamiliar. . . . Therefore, we have our customs, which are not the same as those of the white men, the white men who live in another land and have need of other ways."[2]

We are probably more in the habit of giving thought to, and explaining, the merits of at least some of our customs. Yet how many of our folkways and mores we simply take for granted! Some of us may stand off and analyze the functions of flag saluting in the maintenance of national unity. But we do not question the desirability of national unity. Ask the average American why he salutes the flag when it passes in parade. He is likely to say simply that "he is being patriotic." If you push him, he may think up a plausible reason or two. But his behavior rests more on his habits, unconscious assumptions, and feelings than upon such reasons. Try asking him why he doesn't eat human flesh and the unconscious and emotional aspects of the mores will be even more prominent. He will probably look at you in disgust and blurt out an irritated, "Are you crazy?" Reasons are not needed. "It just isn't done!"

The compulsive power of folkways and mores. Even though there are degrees of obligatoriness, whether it be in wino society or our own, folkways and mores both have a compelling power. Folkways have weak sanctions, it is true, yet compliance is high. Deviations are not met with strong resistance. But the person who deviates from the ordinary standards of a group will simply be looked at askance—be viewed as ignorant, uncouth, or queer. Because we prefer, in general, to have the approval and acceptance of others, we hesitate to depart from the group's norms. We tend to conform.

When it comes to the mores, we are confronted with additional social pressures—and very powerful ones at times. But both folkways and mores have "power" over our behavior.

The social pressure may seem to be much greater in a preliterate society. By comparison,

[1] Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimo*, p. 54, Glydendalske Boghandel, Nordisk, Forlag, Copenhagen, 1929. By permission of Rodolf Sand, barrister to the Danish High Court, legal representative of Mrs. Dagmar Knud Rasmussen, the widow of the author.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 54–56. By permission of Rudolf Sand, barrister to the Danish High Court, legal representative of Mrs. Dagmar Knud Rasmussen, widow of the author.

it may seem that folkways and mores have less of a compelling force in our society today. This certainly seems to be true if we are looking for mores which are universal for all sections of American society and which have consistently powerful sanctions. Such universal American mores seem to be relatively few. But American society is far from being a uniform society. We speak of it as a *pluralistic* society, actually made up of many groups with many subcultures, each with somewhat varying mores. These varieties exist in almost any community. The movies and TV acquaint us with a greater variety of social norms. By changes in residence and by upward social mobility, our contact and affiliation with differing groups is multiplied. As a consequence, the majority of Americans are exposed to a variety of groups and group expectations. The situation is quite different from that of a preliterate or a folk society. Small wonder that so many young persons are confused about the behavior expected of them—confused even about their own ideas of right and wrong.

Yet the mores concept has not lost its usefulness. We have retained strongly sanctioned support throughout society for basic expectations incorporated in our economic and political mores. Young men still put their lives on the line when Uncle Sam calls. Furthermore, in each subgroup of our society, there are other shared ways, strongly sanctioned, which are held to be important to group welfare. These mores have a compelling power over our behavior.

One caution should be emphasized. Although we have been speaking of the "compulsive power of the mores," this is merely a figurative way of speaking. Actually it is not the mores but other *persons* who influence us. A child resists the cultural toilet-use expectations. Do the mores finally make him conform? Not literally. It is the mother who, by some manner or other, persuades him to adopt her expectations as his personal habits. The mother shares to a greater or lesser degree, the expectations of others in her society, but these cultural expectations come to bear upon the child through her. The pressure is social. To say "the mores pattern the child's behavior" is a convenient way of putting the matter, but it is a figure of speech which oversimplifies the processes involved.

Laws

Closely related to the mores are *laws*. But what is the distinction? And how are they related?

According to Sumner, laws are differentiated from the mores by the "rational and conscious element in them." [1] In the mores, "elements of sentiment and faith inhere." Laws are consciously and deliberately formulated behavior patterns. Men are aware of the process by which they come into existence. In the case of the mores, the behavior patterns do not seem to be a man-made product but simply inhere in the "nature of things."

Herbert Spencer, for example, thought that it was proper for the law to keep a neighbor from creating a smoke nuisance. But it seemed to Spencer only "natural" that each individual should protect himself without the aid of law against medical charlatans. For the law to protect a person from the dangers of a quack doctor through examinations and licensing seemed to him to be improper—quite outside the realm of law. It was a man-made interference with the nature of things.

A more basic distinction between laws and mores, however, is to be found in the formal character of laws. Mores are informally sanctioned; laws are formally sanctioned. Therefore, the behavior patterns and the sanctions are *codified* (behaviors and punishments are classified and standardized), and the application of sanctions is placed in the hands of designated *functionaries* such as judges and other "officers of the law." Laws are usually written but their essence is codification. The Ifugao of the Philippines, for example, have a very complex system of minutely codified laws, with precise punishments provided for almost every conceivable situation in their life, but it is memorized, not written.[2]

Laws usually have grown out of mores. Even though laws are different from mores, the two are intimately linked. Laws have generally grown out of the mores. The first efforts at codification, for any society, are scarcely more than the formal ordering of existing mores. The very name "common law" suggests the process by which our English forebears, from the thirteenth century on, gradually codified the common practices of the peo-

1 Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

2 R. F. Barton, "Ifugao Law," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 1–186.

ple. For a long time, it was possible for every man "to know the law in his heart," for law and internalized mores were almost identical. The rules of parliamentary procedure for legislative bodies have similarly grown up out of the folkways and mores developed in the folkmote and town meeting.

Even today, when laws are deliberately ground out of the legislative mills, they are often a modification of older mores. The automobile required new "rules of the road," but driving on the righthand side of the road has continued. Most traffic rules are simply modifications of older rules of courtesy and respect for property and life. The parking space is only an extension of the hitching post. Now that parking meters grace Main Street, the resemblance is even more striking.

Of course, many laws are new and are enacted to meet new situations. But legislative experience has shown that when the laws are clearly in opposition to the older mores, enforcement is difficult. Where abstinence was in the local mores, Prohibition was effective. Where liquor drinking was a time-honored custom, it continued despite the law. Nevertheless, faith in law as an instrument of social change remains strong. Is this faith justified? Can laws change mores?

Modification of mores by laws. We have stated that laws generally have grown out of the mores and are difficult to enforce when they conflict with mores. But have laws, nevertheless, also had the effect of modifying and even creating mores? The answer seems to be in the affirmative. Despite the numerous mores existing in America's diverse subgroups, federal legislation in such areas as business conduct (e.g., collective bargaining), welfare practices (e.g., social security), minority-group discrimination (fair employment laws), is serving to modify older mores and bring greater uniformity to current mores. Furthermore, social conditions today are so complex and are changing so rapidly, that the slow development of mores cannot meet many of the new situations adequately. Only laws can define what should be done in such instances. Eventually, some of these legal patterns become mores. Or, consider the area of racial relationships. There, tension between federal law and local mores is acute. But slowly, changes fostered by law have made their appearance. It may not seem possible now, but it is likely that, given enough time, many of these patterns will become the habitual expectations of the people. When such new patterns are *felt to be right* and are *supported by group opinion, law or no law,* then such legally initiated changes will have taken on the character of mores.

Institutions

Another key concept in cultural analysis, and one closely related to folkways, mores and laws, is that of *institutions.* In fact, an institution may be defined as a set or web of interrelated folkways, mores, and laws which center in some function or functions (education, manufacturing distribution of goods, etc.). It is essentially a constellation of norms which guides both the general behavior and the specific role behavior of societal members with regard to the function or functions served by the particular set of behaviors. Thus, in the American institutional pattern of the primary school, the major function is the education of the young. Teachers and pupils have their behavior defined by the folkways, mores, and laws in ways that lead to the day-by-day classroom and other activities so familiar to all of us. This institution is, in turn, distinguishable from the set of behavior expectations found in a bank or a church.

Institutions are distinguished from one another both by function and by pattern. We may distinguish major general functions by reference to educational, economic, religious, governmental, and familial functions, and these represent important aspects of the social structure. But, when approaching the concrete reality, a variety of specific functions and patterns within a general area become apparent. There are different educational functions and patterns, e.g., different kinds of schools, such as kindergarten, public, parochial or independent schools, trade or business schools, and universities. There are educational institutions which could not be termed schools, such as in-service training programs. Thus it is better to speak, *in the plural,* of educational institutions, of economic institutions, political institutions, and religious institutions.

Institutions also vary in complexity and stability. The web of behavior patterns may be as complex as that of the federal government or as enduring as that of the Roman Catholic Church. At the other extreme are the less

formal and sometimes less enduring constellations such as that of a filling station, a Fourth of July celebration, the college "bull session," or the honeymoon. But any institution is an interrelated set of behavior patterns which is definite and stable enough to survive its originators.

Culture trait analysis

The culture pie, of course, can be cut in a number of ways. One of the early approaches, known as element or trait analysis, has provided a set of concepts still in use: *culture trait, culture trait complex,* and *culture area.*

A culture trait is a "unit of observation." It may be a unit of normative behavior (shaking hands) or it may be an artifact (a culture object such as a wooden bowl). In this approach, culture objects are considered to be a part of culture. If the student simply accepts the fact that usage on this point varies, he should have no difficulty in keeping our distinction between culture and culture objects in mind.

> How small a unit one isolates depends largely on the purpose for which analysis is carried out. For one purpose it might be sufficient to state that subsistence traits in Attawapiskat Cree culture include hunting, fishing and berry picking, but if two cultures with the same three techniques were to be compared, the various implements and techniques of hunting, fishing, and berrying would be listed in detail. . . .[1]

Another example of a trait might be the bow and arrow. This can quickly be broken down into two traits. Furthermore, there are many similarities and differences in the manufacture and use of these traits. These details are listed as traits as they were for nine Salish societies located on the Northwest Coast. A selected list of these traits is found in Table 3.1.

Culture traits are frequently found to cluster in meaningful interrelationships called *culture trait complexes.* Among the Samoans, for example, constant *kava* drinking is observed. Kava is a nonalcoholic beverage, and we would list it among Samoan culture traits. But we see that a great many traits are related to kava drinking. There are the rituals of preparing and serving the beverage, pouring out the first cup as a libation to the gods, the ceremonial order of precedence in serving kava to the group assembled, the various occasions which call for kava drinking, and the mytho-

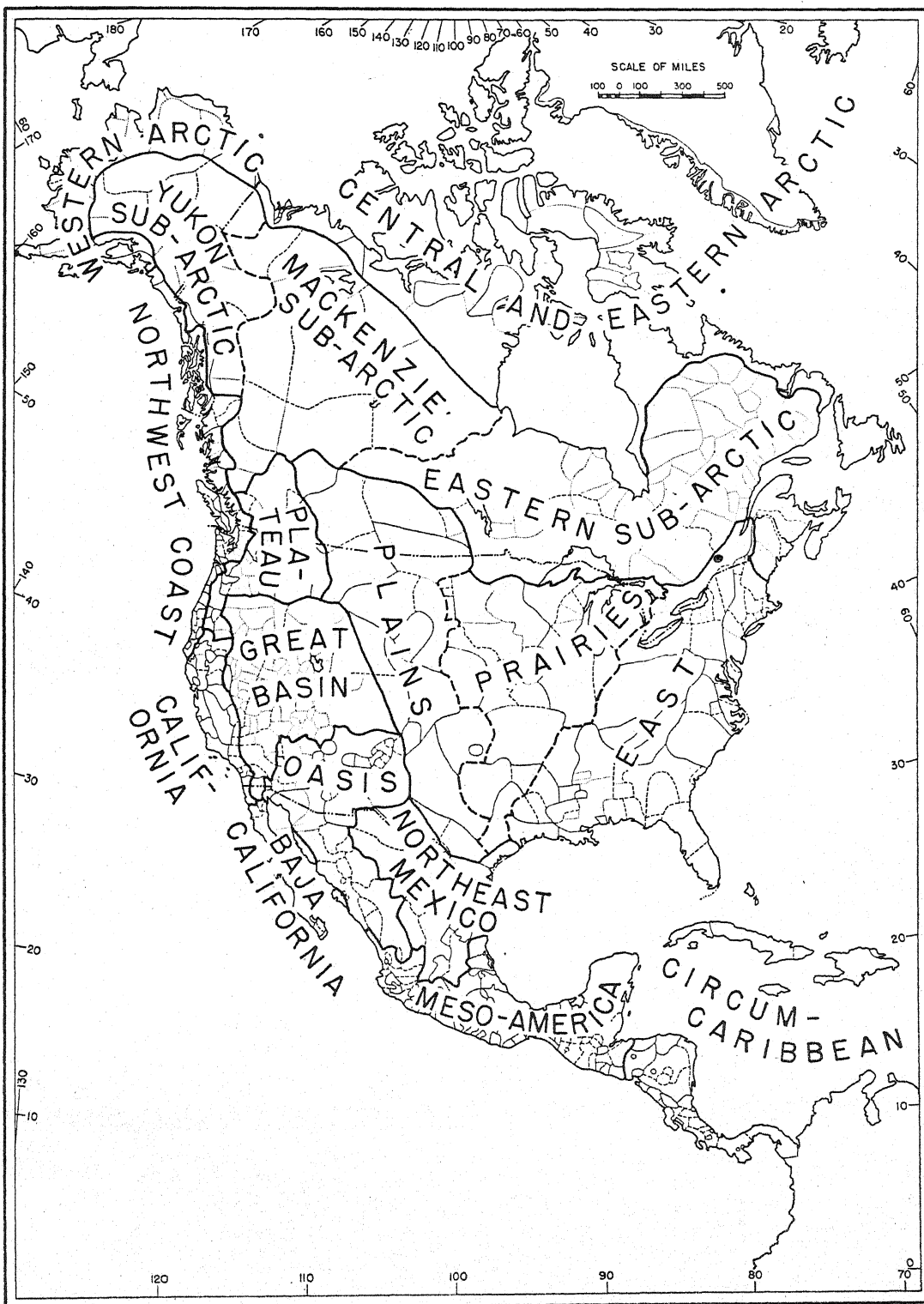
[1] John J. Honigmann, *The World of Man,* p. 125, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959. Reprinted by permission.

Table 3.1. Salish Culture Trait List

BOW	CW	NA	PE	CX	KL	HO	SE	SQ	WS
946. Broad, thin, short	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
949. Yellow cedar root				+	+	+	+	+	+
950. Yew wood	+	(+)	+	+	(−)	(−)	−	(+)	+
951. East side of tree	·	+	·		−	·	+		
952. Shady side of tree					+	·		+	+
953. Painted or colored	−	·	+	+	−	−	−	+	·
954. Spiral design	−		−	−	+?	−	−	−	−
956. Fiber bows string	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
958. Sinew bowstring	·	−	(+)	−	−	+	+	+	(−)
959. Gut bowstring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
961. Held horizontally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ARROWS	**CW**	**NA**	**PE**	**CX**	**KL**	**HO**	**SE**	**SQ**	**WS**
962. Straightened with hands	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
963. Polished with horsetail rush	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
964. Polished with dogfish skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
971. Bone points	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
972. Long, thin for ducks					+	·	+	+	+
973. Multiple barbs	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
978. Obsidian, flint points	·	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−

NOTE: The abbreviations are, respectively, for the following tribes: Cowichan proper, Nanaimo (a Cowichan division), Pentlatch, Comox, Klahuse, Homalco, Sechelt, Squamish, West Sanetch.

+ = Trait present.
− = Trait absent.
() = "Sometimes," "a few," etc.
· = Informant did not know.
? = Despite informant's statement, researcher had doubt.

From H. G. Barnett, *Culture Element Distributions: IX Gulf of Georgia Salish,* p. 245, *Anthropological Records,* 1:5, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1939. With permission of the publisher.

North American Indian Culture Areas. (Courtesy Driver and Massey and American Philosophical Society)

logical beliefs in the background of the ceremony. Kava drinking ties in with many other aspects of Samoan life, so that we can recognize a kava complex—a whole set of interrelated culture traits.

In any society, there will be major and minor complexes. In our own society we could speak of a "coffee break" complex, a football complex, an automobile complex, or even a political party-election system complex. The traits constituting a complex do not necessarily remain the same. Football today is not what it was in 1900. Some equipment items, rules, and plays are different. But it is still football, for there is a tendency for a complex to continue as a unit in its transmission from one generation to another or from one society to another. For example, the plow complex (draught animal, harness, plow, and male operator) developed in Mesopotamia some 5,500 years ago, and has been transmitted intact to almost every part of the world.[1] The Japanese adopted the American baseball complex intact. The buffalo complex of the Plains Indians was essentially the same in the thirty-one tribal societies.

By itemizing the traits and trait complexes, the similarities and differences between societies can be brought out. One obvious finding which quickly emerges from such comparative study of element distribution is the similarity between the cultures of adjacent societies living in a similar natural environment. Hence the *culture area* concept.

A look at the map on page 37 shows a recent culture area mapping of North American Indian cultures before the coming of white man. The lightly drawn lines reveal the great number of distinguishable Indian societies. The heavy lines are the boundaries between the major culture areas. Such boundary lines are, of course, somewhat arbitrary, for the typical traits of one area tend to overlap somewhat with the typical traits of another culture area, especially among the bordering societies.

The rapid spread of culture traits under modern conditions of communication and mobility has decreased the usefulness of the culture area concept in the study of contemporary man. Yet we find the basic idea cropping up in such current sociological concepts as "delinquency areas" or "regional subcultures."

1 Honigmann, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

Functional analysis

Another reason for the decreased emphasis upon culture trait analysis is the rise of functional analysis. A catalog of traits and trait complexes has its use in the comparative study of element distribution. But to understand a society's culture, we also need to know how these elements are related to each other and what role they play in the maintenance of the total society. Here we find ourselves back to the concepts of structure and function. Trait analysis has been essentially structural.[2] It needs supplementing by functional analysis.

Functional analysis was the outgrowth of anthropological work with preliterate societies small enough to be comprehended as a whole. Certain anthropologists were impressed by the contributions which the various elements in the culture made to the total society. Thus we have Radcliffe-Brown writing: "The function of any recurrent activity, such as the punishment of a crime, or a funeral ceremony, is the part it plays in the social life as a whole. . ."[3] Malinowski, often considered to be the "father" of the functionalist approach, was the most ardent champion of the idea that everything in a society's culture makes a contribution (largely through the meeting of individual needs) to the society as a whole.

According to the functionalist view, moreover, culture patterns were to be *explained*[4] by their function in the total social system.

In its extreme form, functionalism became a set of assumptions: that *every* element in a society's culture—*every* standardized activity and belief—is *indispensable* to, and *makes a*

2 Ralph Linton's treatment of traits takes the functional approach into account in pointing out that culture traits have four aspects: not only form, but use, function, and meaning. The same trait may be present in two cultures, in the same form. But the immediate use, the general function served, and the meaning given may vary. To be complete, trait analysis becomes functional analysis as well. See Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 402–404, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936.

3 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On the Concept of Function in Social Science," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 37, pp. 396, 1935.

4 This view has come under serious criticism. Homans, for example, has pointed out a basic weakness in the functionalist tendency "to see in the part a social activity plays in preserving the continuity of a society an adequate *explanation* of the activity's appearance. In the words of the old philosophers, they are content to point out the *final cause* of a phenomenon and neglect the *efficient*. But no element of an organic system appears just because it is needed; it appears because *forces* are at work tending to produce it." (George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, p. 271, Harcourt Brace and Company, New York, 1950. Italics added.) Arnold M. Rose in "On Merton's Neo-functionalism," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, pp. 14–17, Spring, 1960, has likened the concept of function to the concept of instinct in that "it names rather than explains what is."

positive contribution to the welfare, integration, and continuity of the total society.

As has been pointed out by various critics, this extreme concept of functionalism contains several dubious assumptions.

Some degree of integration is a functional prerequisite for any ongoing society, as was stated in Chapter Two. But there is considerable doubt that any society is so well integrated that *every* aspect of its society or culture makes a *positive* contribution.[1] In fact, the concept of *negative function* or *dysfunction* has come into use. Some usages are recognized as having disruptive and detrimental effects as well as positive or favorable effects. Certain agricultural practices provide food but also erode the land. The sacredness of cattle in India probably functions to maintain Hinduism and, in turn, the unity of the society. But the sacredness also functions to deny food to underfed or starving people.

As for the indispensability of any particular usage, Merton [2] has countered with the idea of functional *alternatives* (equivalents or substitutes). He recognizes that there are "functional prerequisites, or preconditions functionally necessary for a society," but he holds that it "is quite another matter [to] assume that certain cultural or social forms are indispensable for fulfilling each of these functions." [3] The same function can be served by alternative behavior patterns.

Not only are the assumptions in the extreme functionalist position very questionable, but as Goode has pointed out, even the holders of this theoretical position (for example, Malinowski and some of his followers) were preoccupied ". . . much less with the maintenance of the society than with the manner by which all sorts of apparently disparate social actions related to one another." [4]

In view of the foregoing criticisms and in the light of the actual practice of functional analysts, we favor a broad, inclusive concept. As we use it, functional analysis is not only the attempt to relate the parts of a society or culture to the whole society or culture, but also to relate the parts to one another. We would define it simply as the study of the interrelationships between social or cultural units.[5] Whenever one part, in some way, makes a difference in the behavior or the behavior pattern of another part, that difference is a function of the first part.

Table 3.2. Possible Functional Interrelationships

	CULTURAL OR SOCIAL UNIT			
	Positive Function(s)		Negative Function(s)	
	Manifest	Latent	Manifest	Latent
Cultural or social unit				

Cultural Unit: Folkway, mos, law, institution, trait, trait complex, etc.
Social Unit: A person, subgroup or subcategory of persons, society.
Adapted from William J. Goode, *Religion Among the Primitives*, p. 33, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1951. With permission of the author and publisher.

To complete our conceptual framework for functional analysis, we include the distinction which Merton has made explicit in the terms *manifest* and *latent* functions.[6] A manifest function is one of which people are generally aware; it is the avowed "purpose," the familiar consequence, or the intended end. A latent function is one which is more of a by-product and generally not recognized. For example, a manifest, positive function of a law requiring school attendance to age 16 or 18 is a certain level of education of the young. But a latent positive function from, say, the standpoint of labor unions, is that of keeping persons below that age off the labor market. A latent negative function may be the lowering of educational standards in the schools. There may be other positive or negative functions, manifest or latent.

The interrelationships which functional analysis theoretically may pursue are summarized in Table 3.2. We say theoretically, because in practice, attention tends to be given to the more important interrelationships. In studying the chart, the reader is to keep in mind that the scheme presents the types of functional relationships which *may* (not must) exist. The functional relationships between two items may be limited to the kinds represented in only one or two of the four cells; or in three or four. Two related items may have multiple functions in the same cell. Furthermore, the distinction between positive and neg-

1 See Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, pp. 25–32, The Free Press. Glencoe, Ill., 1957. Also, William J. Goode, *Religion Among the Primitives*, pp. 28–37, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1951.
2 Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 36.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
4 Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
5 See Goode's discussion leading to a similar definition, *Ibid.*, pp. 28–31.
6 Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–82.

ative functions is relative. A delinquent gang may have negative functions (manifest or latent) from the viewpoint of the society, the family, or even the gang member; but also have positive functions (manifest or latent, e.g., protection, recognition, anxiety reduction, etc.) for the individual members of the gang. The sociologist as sociologist does not evaluate. He attempts to trace the effects or the consequences. Whether the functions are classed as positive or negative depends upon their consequences in terms of some stated end and not in terms of his personal preferences.

As we have defined it, functional analysis has long been on the human scene. As Goode has pointed out:

> . . . As a mode of thought, functionalism dates from the appearance of the first wise man. Granted, it did not receive a label until the past generation, but man also required several hundreds of millenia before learning that he speaks prose. Every serious social analyst in the history of human thought has at times used functional analysis. . . .[1]

And as Davis has pointed out, functional analysis has been a basic emphasis among sociologists, even before the label came into vogue.[2] It continues among sociologists who would not call themselves functionalists, for sociological analysis is. the analysis of the structure of a society and its culture and the analysis of how the parts of this structure are functionally interrelated.

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[1] Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Kingsley Davis, "The Myth of Functional Analysis as a Special Method in Sociology and Anthropology," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 24, pp. 757–772, 1959.

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Chapter 4

Cultural Processes

The Big Cave of Shanidar

In a mountainside in . . . northern Iraq is a human dwelling place [estimated to have been used over 100,000 years. It is] . . . a high-vaulted natural cave about the size of four tennis courts—capacious enough to house a considerable band of people. The cave has a warm southern exposure and is well protected from winter winds. Nearby are springs and a stream to supply water. . . .

Today the Cave of Shanidar is inhabited by a clan of Kurdish goatherds . . . and their families. [They] live in the cave all winter from November to April, have built individual brush huts inside it, each with a small fireplace, and corrals for goats, chickens, cows and horses. The Kurds are a proud, self-sufficient, but backward people. They make fire with flint and steel and grind wheat by hand with circular stones. The women cut hay in the mountain meadows with short iron sickles and toil barefooted up a mountain trail with goatskins to fetch water from the springs. Compared with modern Baghdad, only 250 miles away, the present dwellers in Shanidar Cave could just as well be living in the days of the Assyrian herdsmen 2,500 years ago.

It was from this level of culture, . . . that we began our digging journey into man's early history. We marked off a small area in the center of the cave and started our slow, careful excavation down through the floor . . . down to bedrock at 45 feet, . . . The excavations have yielded a rich record of human occupation—ancient hearths, tools, animal bones, even Neanderthal skeletons—going back some 100,000 years.

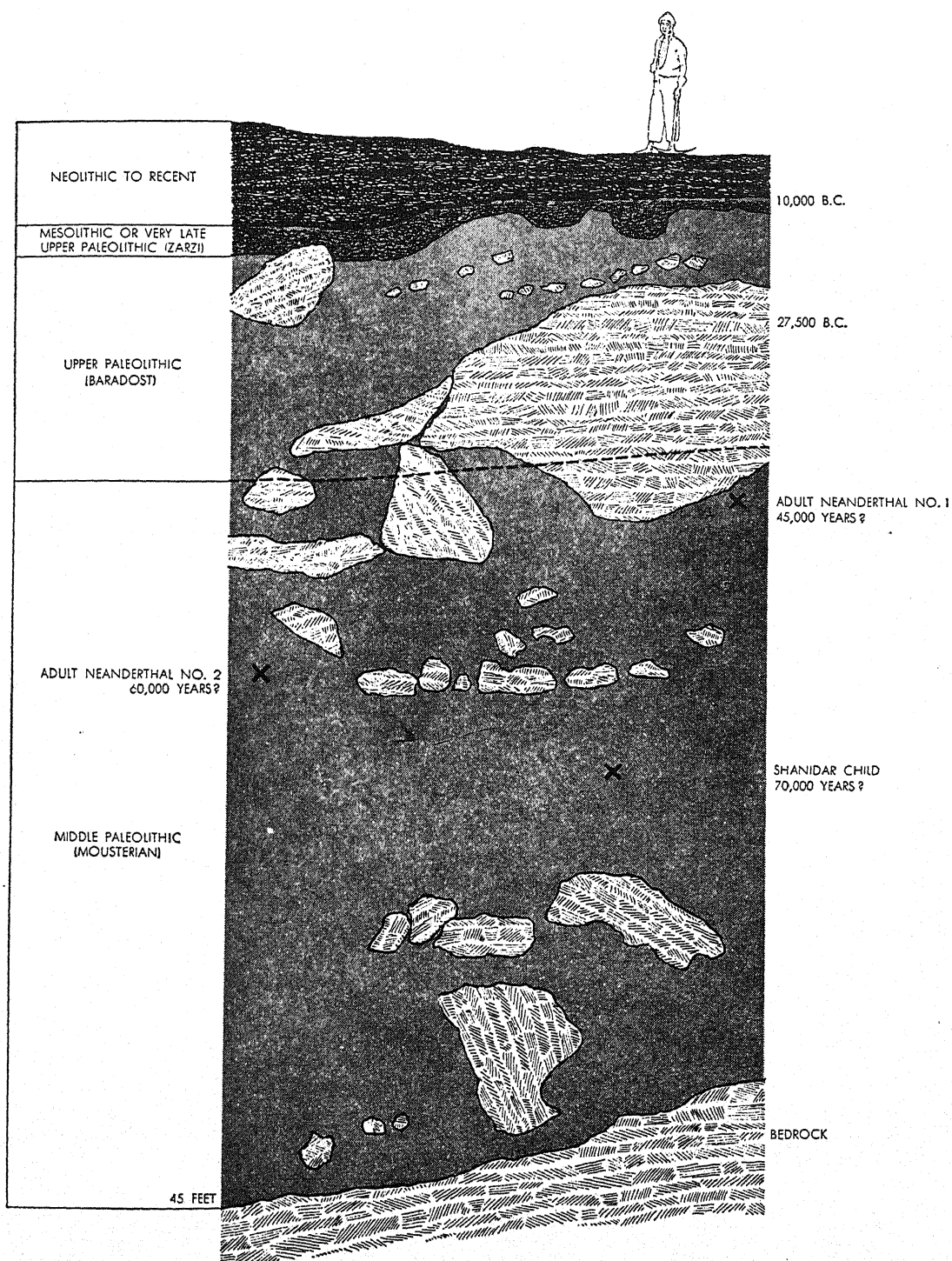
We found four main layers, distinguishable by soil color and the types of artifacts they contained (Layers A to D, figure on page 43).

Layer A, averaging about five feet thick, is a black, greasy soil, [dating] back to some time in the Neolithic (New Stone) Age, perhaps 7,000 years ago. This layer covers the revolutionary period in man's way of life when he emerged from mere hunting to food gathering, agriculture and animal herding. Throughout Layer A we found ash beds of communal fires, bones of domesticated animals and domestic tools such as stone mortars (which the Kurds still use for cracking nuts). About a foot below the surface we found some primitive clay tobacco bowls—mute evidence that the tobacco habit came to this part of Asia about 300 years ago. A little farther down was a bit of burnished pottery similar to the kind known as "Uruk" ware [which] dates from the time of the invention of cuneiform writing in Sumer.

Layer B, just below A, is a fairly thin, brown-stained deposit which, according to carbon-14 measurements, dates back to the Middle Stone Age [Mesolithic], about 12,000 years ago. It contains the primitive artifacts of a people who knew neither agriculture nor animal domestication nor pottery making. . . . Animal bones are relatively scarce in this layer: there are no domesticated animals and few wild ones. Possibly it was a period of game scarcity in Shanidar Valley.

Nonetheless the prehistoric people of Layer B seem to have thrived and even to have had some leisure. They made exquisitely chipped projectile points, and bone awls which must have been used for sewing or lacing. What is more, there are engraved pieces of slate, and also fragments of well-rubbed coloring stones which suggest that these people may have made paintings or decorations.

Below Layer B we come to a gap of some 17,000 years during which the cave apparently was not occupied. The next layer, C, dates from about 29,000 to more than 34,000 years ago, according to radio carbon measurements of charcoal in its firebeds. Near the top of the layer are many boulders, which probably fell from the ceiling during an earthquake and may well have discouraged residence in the cave. The soil layer

"The Big Cave of Shanidar" is from Ralph S. Solecki, "Shanidar Cave," *Scientific American*, vol. 197, pp. 57–78, 1957. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Layers in the floor of Shanidar Cave are indicated on this cross section. Layer A is at the top (Neolithic to Recent); Layer B is the Mesolithic; Layer C is the Upper Paleolithic; and Layer D is the Middle Paleolithic. Neanderthal finds are marked by crosses. The rocks fell from roof of the cave. (Courtesy Scientific American)

Neanderthal Man. Appearance may have been more modern than this. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History)

Cro-Magnon Man (Homo Sapiens). (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History)

itself, a yellowish deposit about eight feet thick with the remains of many fires, bespeaks a long occupation by the late Paleolithic (Old Stone Age) people.

[They] must have been good woodworkers, for their deposits contain flint wood-working tools, including scrapers and gravers. Of course, none of their wood products has survived in the soil of the cave, but we know from the reports of ancient explorers that Stone Age peoples were capable of a wonderful wood technology.

In Layer D of the cave, a 29-foot thick series of deposits . . . we arrive at a distinct break in the human line. The peoples above were presumably all *Homo sapiens* [true man]: here, some 45,000 years ago and earlier, we discover the extinct *Homo neanderthalensis*. Not only do we recognize his crude tools, but by incredibly good luck the Shanidar Cave yields up no fewer than three skeletons of Neanderthal man,[1] . . .

. . .

We have no clue to what clothing he wore, but he must have wrapped himself in some sort of covering, for this was a cold period in the history of Shanidar Cave—the height of the last Ice Age. In Layer D there is a dark eight-foot stratum with an especially heavy concentration of fire remains, . . . Apparently, the occupants kept a constant fire going, for warmth and to repel wild animals. The period was not only cold but also very wet: there is a layer of stalagmitic lime—drippings from the ceiling—which marks the only era of appreciable dampness in the history of this cave.

Although the cave afforded protection from the miserable climate, it was not without its hazards . . . From time to time there were terrific rockfalls from the ceiling, . . . We found firebeds and an animal buried under such falls, and the skeletons of both of the Neanderthal adults lay crushed under boulders . . .

. . . the priceless hoard of remains in Shanidar Cave is being studied by archaeologists, physical anthropologists, zoologists, geologists, climatologists and other specialists. With the combined insights of all these investigators we can hope to translate the scraps of evidence into a comprehensive account of the people who lived in the cave and how they wrested a living from nature in various times and conditions. . . . [but even now], we can see the general outlines . . .

[1] In August of 1960, three more Neanderthal skeletons were unearthed. During the same month, twenty-six *Homo Sapiens* skeletons were found in a new section of Layer B. These finds make Shanidar Cave one of the world's most rewarding archaeological sites.

For tens of thousands of years, Neanderthal man hangs on at the cave, . . . Century after century his life continues with a monotonous sameness; even his flint tools do not change. Eventually he is succeeded by *Homo sapiens.* Now the curve of culture begins to rise gradually: the new men improve their hunting weapons, fashion tools for woodworking and sit around a communal fire. Thousands of years later the inhabitants of the cave have advanced to finely chipped tools, sewing and painting. But the curve of progress still clings low on the horizon. Then, some 7,000 years ago (only yesterday in the long history of the cave), the curve suddenly begins to shoot up with a burst of power. The people of Shanidar Cave learn to domesticate animals, till the soil, grind wheat, make pottery, spin thread. [The present occupants] remain, however, an isolated, pastoral people, in spite of the successive Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian civilizations that rise and fall in nearby Mesopotamia.

. . .

Culture change and growth

The social scientist's interest in culture is not confined to a study of the structure and function of human social behavior at a given point in time (synchronic approach). He has also exhibited a lively interest in the history of human social life and the dynamics of cultural development and change (diachronic approach).

Man seems always to have been curious about his origins. Almost every people has its origin story. We have our own in the traditional biblical account—a creative product of a prescientific people. Today, however, thanks to the patient labor of many scientists like the ones who dug through the floor of Shanidar Cave, we have more scientific knowledge about prehistoric man and the beginnings of culture. Even so, as Kroeber observed in 1948, ". . . the story is still a spotty one, no doubt containing more gaps than positive knowledge. But it is a story that is filling in fast. All of the evidences have been gathered in the past hundred years, probably half of them since 1910."[1] The search is going on more vigorously than ever, today, driven by man's insatiable curiosity about his own past.

[1] A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, second edition, p. 78, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1948. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

It is not our purpose to survey present knowledge about the early history of man. But it is appropriate in an introductory sociology course to become familiar with the basic processes which have been involved and which are still operative in human society today. These processes will be treated under the broad headings of innovation, diffusion, and accumulation.

Innovation

Culture change in a given society can come about in only two ways.[1] Either some member gets a new idea or creates something new (innovation) or something new is borrowed from another society (diffusion).

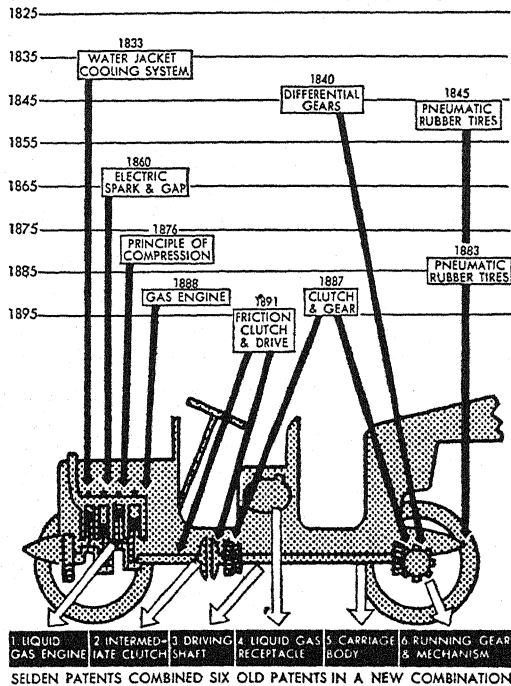
Innovation, or invention, as we use it, is a very inclusive term. Each artifact in the Shanidar Cave was invented by someone. Someone thought up each type of stone tool, bone awl, projectile point, pottery, stone mortar, etc. With regard to any of these, invention included each new method of manufacture, each new use: a better stone scraper or a new method for scraping. But the term innovation also applies to new social arrangements or patterns of behavior. It applies to new words, songs, stories, poems, art designs, rituals and the like. And it is applied to discoveries: new knowledge, new understandings of relationships, new ideas, etc. In short, an innovation is anything new, even slightly new, coming from some member or members of the group.

As we ponder the history of Shanidar Cave, we wonder why there seemed to be so few new culture objects for such a long period of time and why they came more rapidly later on? Was it just because *Homo sapiens* was brighter than Neanderthal man? Or were there other factors involved? Such musings raise general questions: What affects the rate of innovation? What makes an innovation possible in the first place? And, once possible, what makes an innovation probable? Let us consider the possible factors involved.

1) *The culture base.* The possibility that a certain innovation can occur is a function of the *culture base* (the culture existing at a given time). An innovation is simply a new combination of already existing elements or a modification of an existing element. As shown on page 46, the automobile is really a new

[1] We are referring here to the first time something new appears in a society. Of course, change can also come about through imperfect transmission of a cultural unit, or even a complete failure in transmission.

THE INVENTION OF THE AUTOMOBILE

SELDEN PATENTS COMBINED SIX OLD PATENTS IN A NEW COMBINATION

Illustrating the role of the culture base. (Courtesy *Pictograph Corporation, based on F. Stuart Chapin,* Cultural Change, *Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. New York, 1928*)

combination of already invented parts, just as the engine itself is a new combination of previously invented parts. It follows that the automobile could not have been invented until the engine and the other parts were in the culture base. There are ancient biblical references to a day of "horseless carriages" but the culture base was not sufficient until just before the twentieth century.

Thus, the atomic bomb was not possible in World War I. Nor was the orbiting of man-made satellites possible before they occurred. Until then, some of the necessary elements in the culture base still had to be invented. The coal, oil, and gas upon which so much of our industry rests was here before the time of Columbus. But the Indians occupying this continent had not accumulated a large enough culture base to use these valuable (to us) resources. Nor for that matter had the occupants of any other continent.

The distinction has been made between primary and secondary innovations. Examples of primary inventions would be: fire, the wheel, the domestication of plants, pottery-making, metal-working, loom-weaving, the alphabet, printing with movable type, the steam engine, the dynamo, the internal-combustion engine, radio, and the release of atomic energy. Included should be major developments such as the germ theory of disease and psychoanalysis. These represent major "break-throughs," and they usually give rise to a host of secondary innovations which perfect the primary ones or follow-up its leads. Thus the domestication of one plant led to the domestication of others. It also led to improved horticulture. So the inoculation against smallpox led to the application of the immunization principle to many other diseases, including polio. The automobile was improved with the self-starter, enclosed bodies, safety-glass, built-in heaters, and automatic transmission, to mention only a few of the thousands of improvements which have led to today's latest model. When we pause to consider what man has done to improve or apply the basic innovations listed above, we are impressed with the great role of secondary innovations. Equally impressive, however, is the relative rarity of basic innovations. They do not come easily. And, often, they are preceded by long periods of experimentation and slow discovery. Just consider the hundreds of new bits of knowledge which paved the way for the release of nuclear energy. But whether we are talking about primary or secondary innovations, the close linkage between innovations and the culture base is clear.

Elaboration as a human tendency. To say that the rate of invention is relative to the size and content of the culture base does not tell us anything about man's reason for inventing in the first place. The basic reason, of course, is that man, like other animals, seeks to live. He has to meet the functional prerequisites of his existence. But lacking the inherited patterns which other animals have, he is forced to create his own patterns, his own tools, his own ways of winning the struggle for existence. Survival, however, is not all there is to it. Man also tends to elaborate his culture. For one thing, he tries to increase his security and comfort. As Linton has pointed out, however, this elaboration has been uneven.

> . . . each society has been content to allow certain phases of its culture to remain at what we might call the necessity level, while it has developed others far beyond this point. No society has been content

to leave the whole of its culture at the necessity level, and no society has elaborated all phases of its culture equally.[1]

Increased efficiency is not the only motive for elaboration. Beyond survival and increased efficiency, man seems to invent just for the fun of it—for the satisfaction of creating and then enjoying the products of his creativity. As Linton has noted:

> . . . even in the case of tools and utensils, where the disadvantages of [elaborating beyond efficiency] would seem most obvious, we have plenty of examples of quite unnecessary expenditure of labor and materials. Hundreds of tribes ground and polished their stone axes completely, although such instruments cut no better than those ground only at the bit and are actually more difficult to haft. The Imerina of Madagascar make their spade handles of fine cabinet woods, palisandre, spotted ebony, and the like. Such handles are neither more nor less efficient in use than those of ordinary wood, and the trees from which they are made do not grow in the tribe's territory. . . .[2]

One could quote innumerable examples from our own as well as from preliterate cultures to illustrate further this tendency to amplify and elaborate without any very direct relation to the survival of the group in question. Man creates a sort of "surplus of adaptation" and proceeds to spend the surplus on activities that provide expression for his creative capacities. It is this very surplus—ceremonials, music, dancing, literature, arts, science, philosophy, and religion—that make man most truly human and of which he is likely to be most proud. This surplus also becomes a part of the culture base, providing the foundation for further elaboration.

2) *Creative intelligence.* There can be no new invention without an inventor—no new music without a gifted musician. There must be someone with enough creative capacity to conceive of a new solution to a problem, a new insight into the relationship of things, a new art form.

One of the oldest debates centers around the question of the proportion of such creative intellects in different societies. We can admit that Neanderthal and other still earlier hominids appear to have been less well endowed in this respect than *Homo sapiens.* But has the percentage of highly intelligent and creative persons varied significantly among *Homo sapiens* societies? An easy way to explain backwardness (of, say, people like the Arunta, the Kurds of Shanidar Cave, or of some Negro societies in Africa) is to assert that these groups have proportionally fewer highly intelligent and creative individuals. This, of course, is a possibility if we are talking about relatively small and local societies. It is even a theoretical possibility if we are talking about races or large human societies. But the general tendency among the anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists who have investigated this problem most closely is to discount heavily this type of explanation for so-called backwardness. Even though conclusive evidence is still lacking, present evidence indicates that it is safer to assume that all races and all large human groups have had ample creative intelligence at their disposal. Furthermore, when we observe that each society has borrowed infinitely more than it has invented, differences in the culture base are better explained by the differential opportunities to acquire culture from other societies.

3) *Attitudes toward innovation.* How much the members of a society value the traditional and how open they are to innovations can also affect the rate of invention. Generally, societies have been very conservative. Most have dampened the exercise of inventiveness by ridicule and sometimes even persecution of those who dared to be innovators. And this is understandable. As Bernhard Stern once pointed out:

> An innovation, especially one which affects one's economic status as in the case of technologies, rudely shatters whatever equilibrium a person has attained. It demands not only motor reconditioning but reorganization of personality to meet the needs of the new situation. Poise gives way to at least temporary uncertainty. One's place in the new configuration is uncertain. New decisions are demanded. Efforts must be expended; discomforts of readjustment experienced. Life becomes more complex, in that it is less routinized, and appears to teem with hazards.
>
> It is little wonder that an innovation, whatever its nature may be, provokes feelings of impropriety and repelling defense attitudes of ridicule and disparagement, or is deliberately ignored and thus not permitted to enter experience. . . . Unless there are incentives which stimulate conscious effort toward change, rationalizations are used to justify the established behavior by excuses which sanction it.[3]

1 Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man,* p. 87, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936. Reprinted with the permission of the publishers.

2 *Ibid.,* pp. 87–88. Reprinted by permission.

3 Bernhard J. Stern, "Resistance to the Adoption of Technological Innovation," in *Technical Trends and National Policy, Report of the Subcommittee on Technology to the National Resources Committee,* p. 61, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1937.

Today we like to think that we are more hospitable to innovations than were our great-grandfathers. Certainly, when it comes to mechanical inventions, or medical discoveries, resistance is generally low today. In fact, in many areas, invention is systematically encouraged through scientific research. But we are much less friendly toward social innovations. Except for fashions and crazes, we have tended to label most suggestions for innovation in the social field as radicalism, or as the impractical product of starry-eyed dreamers. Many social innovations have been adopted, of course, but not without vigorous criticism and resistance. And we still view with suspicion those who have bright ideas for changing the status quo.

4) *The run of attention.* Not only are there societal differences in the encouragement given invention, but as already noted, inventive impulses are directed along different lines. In our society, the Thomas Edisons are rewarded for their material inventions. In Samoa, as Margaret Mead pointed out, a great deal of ingenuity is lavished on minor innovations in ritual and design. This is also true of the Zuni and other societies. At any given time there is a certain run of attention or interest in new gadgets or ideas of some special type. Society is eager for and prepared to accept innovations in that special field. At the same time, however, it remains apathetic or antagonistic to improvements in other quarters.

Diffusion

When an innovation created by one society is learned or adopted by members of other societies, we have *cultural diffusion*—the spreading of culture traits from group to group. Obviously, without invention somewhere, there can be no diffusion. But as previously stated, any society owes much more of its culture base to diffusion than to its own inventing. The accumulation of inventions by one biologically continuous line of groups would be a meager one were it not for the criss-crossing diffusion between contemporary groups. Even in the earliest primitive times, there was a great deal of cultural diffusion. With primitive methods of travel, the radiation of new ideas and new artifacts was slow. But there were enough intertribal contacts through trade, warfare, or migration to pass outstanding inventions along. Given the long span of early cultural history, it was possible for new culture traits to cover whole continents. Of course, geographic barriers on the one hand and natural avenues of travel and communication on the other made for much more rapid diffusion in some directions than in others.

Information on possible lines or routes of diffusion remains sketchy, even in historic times. But where we have dates on the first appearance of a trait in a certain part of the world, we can infer possible directions of diffusion. Thus we have at least hints of the place of invention and the direction and speed of diffusion of such traits as the wheel (wheeled vehicle), potter's wheel, and the plow, as shown in Table 4.1.

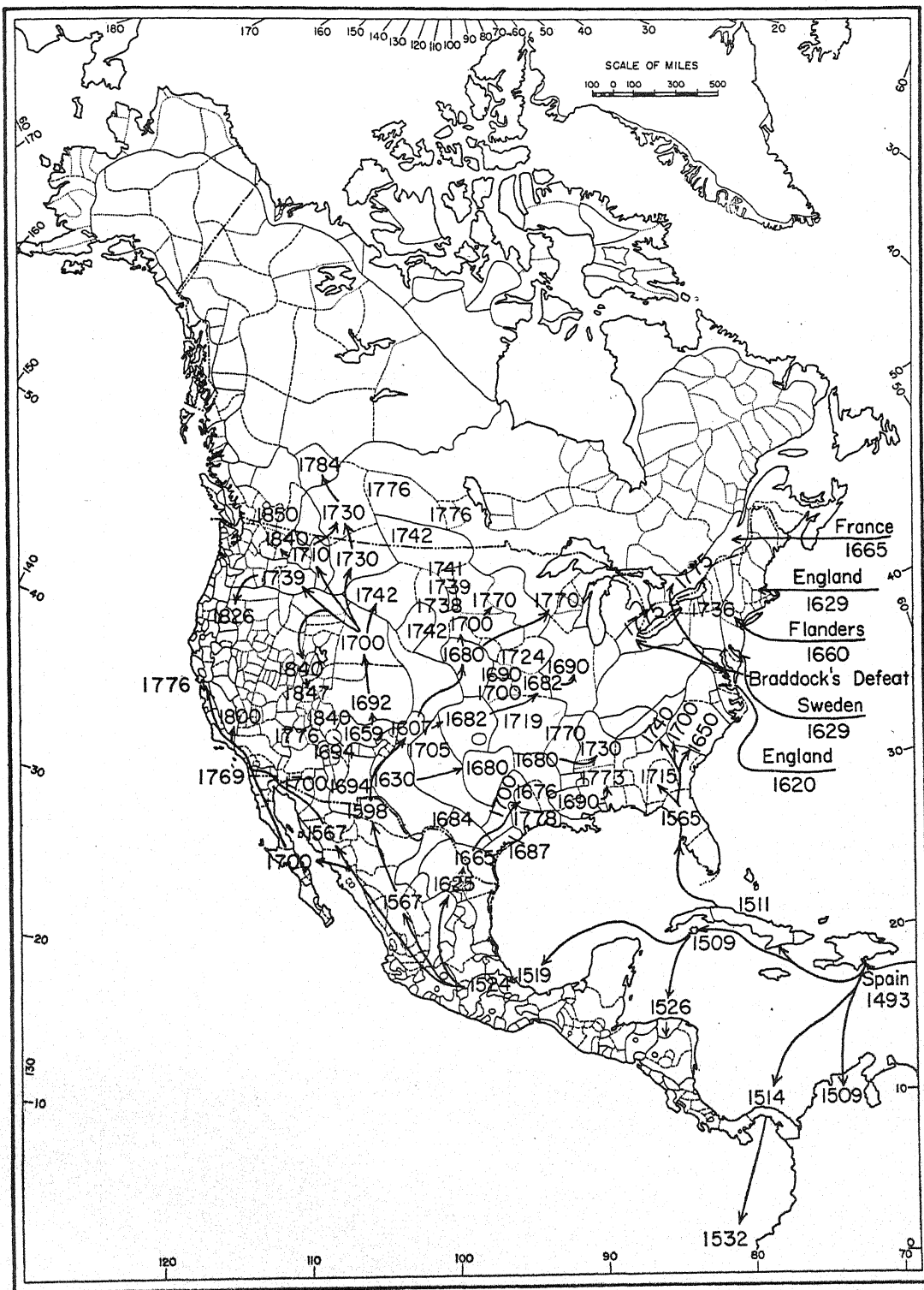
Table 4.1. Spatial-Temporal Distribution of Three Primary Early Inventions

	WHEEL	POTTER'S WHEEL	PLOW
Mesopotamia	3500 B.C.	3500 B.C.	3500 B.C.
India	2500	—	1300
Crete	2000	1800	—
Greece	1600	1600	1300
China	1400	1400	—
Scandanavia	1400	—	—
Britain	800	50	800
Scotland	—	400 A.D.	—
America	1500 A.D.	—	1500 A.D.

From Gordon V. Childe, *Progress and Archaeology*. London, Watts and Co., 1944, as adapted by John J. Honigmann, *The World of Man*, p. 95, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Carter has made a similar spatial-temporal distribution study of paper, giving the earliest recorded or estimated dates that paper was used in the following countries.[1]

105 A.D.	Invented in China
250 A.D.	Niya, in Turkestan
399 A.D.	Turfan
650 A.D.	Samarkand (Russian Turkestan)
707 A.D.	Mecca
800 A.D.	Egypt
950 A.D.	Spain
1100 A.D.	Constantinople
1102 A.D.	Sicily
1154 A.D.	Italy
1228 A.D.	Germany
1309 A.D.	England
1322 A.D.	Holland

[1] Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, revised edition, Columbia University Press, New York, 1931. Reprinted by permission

Diffusion of the horse in North America. (Courtesy Driver and Massey and American Philosophical Society)

The diffusion of the use of the horse among North American Indian groups, after the first introduction by Europeans, is shown with considerable detail and accuracy by Driver and Massey in the map on page 49.

An interesting case of intercontinental diffusion is the classic story of tobacco.

> . . . smoking reached the Eskimo only after having made the round of the globe. Originating in Middle America, the custom spread very anciently to its farthest native limits [in the Americas] without being able to penetrate to the Eskimo. As soon as the Spaniards appeared on the scene, the custom started on a fresh career of travel and rolled rapidly westward and northward—Mexico to the Philippines to Fukien to North China to Amur tribes to Russians in Siberia—until it re-entered America in the hitherto nonsmoking region of Alaska.[1]

Acculturation is the process of fitting diffused traits into the pattern of a culture. The process is an exceedingly complex one and far from a mere acceptance of the idea or artifact. If acceptance takes place at all (and that depends upon a culture base which gives the innovation meaning and usefulness), it is usually accompanied by at least partial modification and sometimes by substantial transformation. A primitive society cannot take over a modern device like the alarm clock except as a toy and a curiosity. They have no background of complex machinery, and, furthermore, there is no felt need to take an accurate account of time. Christian missionaries are sometimes dismayed to find that their one-and-only God has simply been added to the native pantheon of deities by their converts.

While diffusion generally proceeds from the "higher" or more complex culture to the "lower" or less complex, there is almost always some interchange whenever two peoples come into contact. Occasionally, the dominant culture comes to owe much to the primitive culture, and this is especially true when the people bearing the "superior" culture traits settle down in the environment to which the primitives are already adapted. The borrowing of Indian methods of cultivating corn by the invading colonists is a good example not only of this type of diffusion but also of acculturation with very little modification.

> Our farmers formerly planted and often yet plant, maize in hills; this was the universal Indian mode, four to five grains being dropped at one place at regular intervals of about three feet. . . . In cultivation the Indian hoed the earth up around the growing stalk, which is still the principle of the mechanical cultivator. For husking, our farmers use a husking pin, which, while now of iron, was not so very long ago of bone and wood, precisely like those still in use among our surviving eastern Indians. . . .
>
> The Indian planted beans and squashes among the corn. This has always been a favorite custom of our farmers. He also understood the art of testing his seed and of preparatory germination in warm water. Where fish were available they were used in fertilization, the rule being one fish to a hill. . . .
>
> The one important innovation of the white man was the substitution of the mill for the mortar.[1]

When maize was taken back to Europe, however, it went as a single trait and not as a trait-complex. Maize was planted in Europe in rows, in accordance with the European cultivation pattern. To them, it was just another cereal, to be treated as other cereals, and was acculturated accordingly.

The study of diffusion and acculturation is a type of research which is important for the understanding of cultural history and of contemporary change. Anthropologists are now hard at work on this task, stimulated not only by the theoretical importance of acculturation study but also by the immediate practical benefits to be derived from it. All over the world, today, there are culture-contact situations where political administrators have to make day-to-day decisions involving the competing interests of peoples with different cultural backgrounds. The increased knowledge of the acculturation process has already proved to be of value to colonial administrators, military occupation officials, to United States administrators of foreign aid programs, and to United Nations agencies. If applied anthropology can help to make the transition from "bull-roarer to bull-dozer" easier for primitive peoples, it will provide a practical justification for all the research ethnographers have done in odd corners of the world.

Diffusion vs. independent invention

Can an invention be made independently in several parts of the world? Or does the presence of a certain trait in several parts of the globe mean that it had to be diffused from one spot of origination? The answer to this once lively controversy seems to be that some

[1] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 479–480. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company.

[1] Clark Wissler, "Aboriginal Maize Culture as a Typical Culture Complex," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21, pp. 657–658, March, 1926. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press, publishers.

innovations (the alphabet, for example) were invented only once, but that others (domestication of plants, for example) had multiple points of origination.

There are many cases where a hypothesis of duplicate invention in two or more separate areas better fits the available facts than that of diffusion. Thus the appearance of bronze in the metallurgy of both the old and the new worlds might be explainable in terms of diffusion. But the fact of the restricted Peruvian area in which the bronze was made in America and its isolation from the seacoast, coupled with the absence of bronze in Maya, Chibcha, and Aztec cultures—points strongly toward independent invention. After all, once the arts of metallurgy have advanced to a certain point, the alloying of tin and copper to make bronze is not such an unusual discovery that it could not have been made more than once. If the culture base for an invention is present and the run of attention and general social attitudes are not unfavorable, there is a good chance of duplicate invention. This could even be true in the same culture. In fact, Ogburn and Thomas [1] have listed over a hundred instances out of our own scientific history where the same invention has been made independently (and often almost simultaneously) by two or more workers. Civilization does not depend on the appearance of a single "Great Man" for each step forward. Had Edison died in infancy, undoubtedly there would have been others who would have made the same inventions.

The evidence for multiple invention of the same trait does not, however, make diffusion unimportant. The fact that most of the really backward cultures are to be found in geographically isolated areas is at least negative testimony to the importance of culture borrowing. And on the other hand, the complex cultures of the world have developed at world crossroads where culture contacts were many and frequent.

Accumulation

The tendency of culture and culture objects to accumulate is as obvious as it is important to the history of man. Beginning with sticks and stones for tools and weapons, the number of man's artifacts has been increasing ever since.

[1] William F. Ogburn and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, "Are Inventions Inevitable?" *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 37, pp. 83–93, March, 1932.

This does not mean that culture traits are never lost—particularly when superseded by better ones. Not only is the mummifying technique of the Egyptians a lost art, but who today possesses the art of making a finely flaked and fluted spearpoint? Culture change, as Ogburn pointed out, is "*selectively* accumulative." "New forms of material culture are added and some old ones discarded . . . [but] the additions have exceeded the discards, so that the stream of material culture of a particular people has widened with time." [1] Here and there, of course setbacks occurred, brought on sometimes by barbarian invasion. There have been Dark Age periods when cultural development stagnated for a given people. But these phenomena do not change the generalization that culture tends to accumulate.

We have already seen the factors involved. The members of a succession of human groups invented various ways of coping with the problem of survival, or meeting the functional prerequisites of an ongoing society. They invented not only to live but also to live with increasing security and comfort—and sometimes just for fun. In so far as groups had contact with each other, they borrowed knowledge and other group ways. Each generation then presented its "inherited," invented and borrowed culture to the next generation as a base for further invention. As a result, culture not only accumulated but the rate of accumulation accelerated.

Acceleration. We have seen that an invention is a new combination or a modification of elements already existing in the culture base of a given people. When there are few elements to combine, inventions are few and far between. But as the number of cultural parts increases, the number of possible new combinations also increases. Through the long Paleolithic period (Old Stone Age), beginning perhaps 1,000,000 years ago, man had little in his culture that could be combined in new ways. But slowly, very slowly at first, the culture base was increased and the rate of invention speeded up. More culture—more invention—more culture—and so on. Thus cultural accumulation began to "snowball." And snowballing it still is.

We saw this in the history of Shanidar Cave through the long years of very little

[1] William F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, new edition, pp. 76, 77, Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1950. With permission.

advance, and the very slow rise in the "curve of progress" up to about 7,000 years ago. Then came the fundamental "breakthroughs" which Childe [1] has called the "Neolithic Revolution"—the domestication of plants and animals, the making of pottery and the spinning of thread and weaving. Even though the occupants of Shanidar Cave tended to go little beyond this point, the Neolithic or argicultural revolution generally provided man with a culture base which permitted more rapid invention and provided the settled village life and increased leisure with which better to exploit his gains. With more food, the population in an area increased. Where food became abundant enough, nonfarming specialists could be supported—persons with the time to use their creative endowments. Trade increased, and with it, diffusion.

Then, in favored spots for agriculture such as Mesopotamia, villages grew into towns. The very fact of larger community size brought on changes.

> Once towns became large enough, a new way of life was imposed. . . . for town life required a greater degree of organization and was accompanied by increasing specialization. The number of specialized political and religious functionaries increased as did the number and kinds of artisans and tradesmen. Moreover, the towns had to establish increasing controls over the sources of food, thus encouraging the formation of larger political units.
>
> The urban revolution was marked by a number of innovations. The invention of smelting, first of copper, then its alloy, bronze [sometime before 3500 B.C.] permitted the manufacture of new and better tools and containers. Because the raw materials for metallurgy are unevenly distributed, trade on a larger scale and over longer distances became essential, and this in turn provided mechanism for the more rapid diffusion of new ideas and techniques. The invention of the wheel facilitated travel and transport. Increased trade called for record keeping and probably stimulated the development of writing. In arid regions, cultivation could be expanded through irrigation and large scale irrigation works were more efficient than small. Large scale irrigation, however, required a higher level of organization, often over larger areas. So the urban revolution was accompanied in most places by the rise of city states and empires, and the development of warfare.
>
> All these trends were [accelerated] by the discovery of iron smelting about 1500 B.C. Not only does iron provide better tools, weapons, and containers, it is easier to work and the raw materials are more widely distributed and more cheaply extracted and processed. Each of the new innovations seems to have spread more rapidly than the earlier traits. Thus, while it took over 2,000 years for village farming patterns to spread from the Near East to England, it took less than a thousand years after its invention for metal [bronze] to appear in the latter country at around 1900 or 1800 B.C. Iron working reached Germany by shortly after 750 B.C. and the first iron users appeared in Britain a little before 400 B.C.[1]

We shall not linger on the developments since that time. Later, we shall touch upon the Industrial Revolution in which we still find ourselves today—a period in which the accumulation of culture has been proceeding at an enormously accelerated rate.

Perspective on our own culture. But for us who take today's advanced technology for granted and who are sometimes tempted to attribute these achievements to the superior native intelligence of our own generation (or our own part of the world), it is important to become aware of the slow and sometimes tortuous road by which man has come to this level of cultural development. For all the inventions of our own day, we stand on the shoulders of the past. We are the receivers of the innovations of ever so many centuries and millennia, and of ever so many parts of the world.

James Henry Breasted, in one paragraph, reminds us of our indebtedness to the Middle East:

> How far would the average citizen go in his day's program if he were to eliminate as of no more use the things [italicized below] which he has inherited from the early Orient? When he rises in the morning and clothes his body in *textile garments*, when he sits down to the breakfast table spread with spotless *linen*, set with vessels of *glazed pottery* and with drinking goblets of *glass*, when he puts forth his hand to any implement of *metal* on that table except aluminum, when he eats his morning *roll* or *cereal* and drinks his glass of *milk*, or perhaps eats his morning chop cut from the flesh of a *domesticated animal*, when he rolls downtown in a vehicle supported on *wheels*, when he enters his office building through a porticus on *columns*, when he sits down at his desk, spreads out a sheet of *paper*, grasps his *pen*, dips it in *ink*, puts a *date* at the head of the sheet, writes a *check*, or a *promissory note*, or dictates a *lease* or *contract* to his secretary, when he looks at his watch with the *sixty-fold division* of the circle on its face, in all these and in an infinite number of other commonplaces of life . . . the average man of today is using items of an inheritance which began to pass across the eastern Mediterranean from the Orient

[1] Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History*, pp. 48–68, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1942.

[1] Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction to Anthropology*, second edition, pp. 269–270, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1959.

when Europe was discovered by civilization five thousand years ago.[1]

Kroeber also reminds us how much of our culture has originated in other times and areas:

> . . . we speak an Anglo-Saxon form of a Germanic language that contains more original Latin than English words. Our religion is Palestinian, with its specific formulations into denominations made chiefly in Rome, Germany, England, Scotland, and Holland. Our Bible is translated partly from Hebrew, partly from Greek. We drink coffee first grown in Ethiopia and adopted in Arabia, tea discovered in China, beer first brewed in ancient Mesopotamia or Egypt, hard liquor invented in mediaeval Europe. Our bread, beef, and other meats are from plants and animals first domesticated in Asia; our potatoes, corn, tomatoes, and beans were first used by the American Indians; likewise tobacco. We write an Etruscan-Roman variant of a Greek form of an alphabet invented in or near Phoenicia by a Semitic people on the basis of nonalphabetic writing in still more ancient cultures; . . .[2]

Kluckhohn has characterized a society's culture as a "historically created design for living." [3] For the most part, sociologists emphasize the "design for living" or the normative patterns of contemporary societies. But as the preceding paragraphs from Breasted and Kroeber point out, our own design for living like every other society's design for living is "historically created," with almost all of it created not in our time but "in history."

Variability and uniformity

Cultural variability

The historical perspective provided by the preceding section also helps us to account for the impressive cultural differences found around the world. Throughout most of man's life on this planet, he has lived in rather small and relatively isolated groups. Each group, in its own way, met the functional prerequisites of existence. But because of the great variety of geographic environments and because of the alternative ways by which humans can fulfill the requirements for existence, an almost unbelievable range of cultural differences has developed. The variety is certainly a tribute to human adaptability and ingenuity.

We have given some examples of this cultural variability, and more will follow. These examples, to which the reader can add many others, are not "curiosity pieces." They help provide a realistic perspective on human society and on "the nature of human nature." Without such a perspective, we cannot avoid *ethnocentrism*—a group-centered way of looking upon our own group or society's ways as providing the highest, if not only, standard by which all other societies' ways are to be judged.

Uniformity in culture

But for an adequate perspective, we must also recognize the uniformities and similarities which run through human societies and cultures.

Groups can meet the functional prerequisites in a variety of ways, but they cannot escape them. In addition to the prerequisites, numerous similar behaviors appear. Murdock has listed some of the cultural behavior items found in every known society. In alphabetical order, they are:

> . . . age-grading, athletic sports, bodily adornment, calendar, cleanliness training, community organization, cooking, co-operative labor, cosmology, courtship, dancing, decorative art, divination, division of labor, dream interpretation, education, eschatology, ethics, ethnobotany, etiquette, faith healing, family feasting, fire making, folklore, food taboos, funeral rites, games, gestures, gift giving, government, greetings, hair styles, hospitality, housing, hygiene, incest taboos, inheritance rules, joking, kingroups, kinship nomenclature, language, law, luck superstitions, magic, marriage, mealtimes, medicine, modesty concerning natural functions, mourning, music, mythology, numerals, obstetrics, penal sanctions, personal names, population policy, postnatal care, pregnancy usages, property rights, propitiation of supernatural beings, puberty customs, religious ritual, residence rules, sexual restrictions, soul concepts, status differentiation, surgery, tool making, trade, visiting, weaning, and weather control.[4]

We cannot argue that the universal presence of a behavior pattern or category is evidence of its functional necessity. But we can say that whatever uniformities and similarities exist must arise out of the similarities in the biolog-

[1] James Henry Breasted, "The New Past," *University of Chicago Record*, p. 245, 1920. Not every item had been invented 5,000 years ago, but the items listed did diffuse into Europe from the Middle East. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

[2] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 258. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[3] Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kelly, "The Concept of Culture," in Ralph Linton, editor, *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*," p. 97, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945.

[4] George P. Murdock, "The Common Denominator of Cultures," in Ralph Linton, editor, *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, p. 124, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

ical and psychological make-ups of men and the similarities of their social and physical environments. The functional prerequisites are universal. The biological similarities among humans are great, to say the least. And, furthermore, the varied physical environments of humans on this planet still have much in common. The moon shines not only on the Wabash, but on the Congo and the Yangtze. So men around the world respond to the sun and the stars, day and night, rain, thunder, storm, and calm.

Integration, anomie, and lag

Cultural integration

In Chapter Two, the functional necessity of co-ordinating and integrating activities and relationships was discussed. The specialized activities of interdependent roles must be meshed sufficiently for the members of the society to meet, at least in minimum fashion, all the functional prerequisites of an ongoing society. Consequently, no matter how diverse the sources of its culture, or how complex, every cultural group shows the tendency to fit the parts together into a more or less unified whole. As we have seen, traits cohere in complexes, single folkways and mores are organized into institutional patterns. The total pattern may be analyzed into its elements by the sociologists. But, generally, the functioning members of a society are interested not in analysis but in striving toward a more coherent and integrated way of life. Not only does social and personal life go more smoothly, but their lives are more satisfactory and meaningful if they feel themselves to be a part of a comprehensible and harmonious way of life.

Long ago, the anthropologist, Sapir, commented upon this sense of balance and harmony found in some primitive societies:

> [One] cannot but admire the well-rounded life of the average participant in the civilization of a typical American Indian tribe; the firmness with which every part of that life—economic, social, religious and aesthetic—is bound together into a significant whole in respect to which he is far from a passive pawn [but, instead, plays an important, oftentimes definitely creative, role.][1]

The soliloquy of the old Pomo Indian, at the beginning of the previous chapter, reflected the same sense of unity in the original Pomo way of life. He also revealed the loss of integration after white contact. Sapir, in continuing the above passage, also comments on this:

> . . . When the political integrity of his tribe is destroyed by contact with the whites and the old cultural values cease to have the atmosphere needed for their continued vitality, the Indian finds himself in a state of bewildered vacuity. Even if he succeeds in making a fairly satisfactory compromise with his new environment, in making what his well-wishers consider great progress toward enlightenment, he is apt to retain an uneasy sense of the loss of some vague and great good, some state of mind that he would be hard put to it to define, but which gave him a courage and joy that latter-day prosperity never quite seems to have regained for him. What has happened is that he has slipped out of the warm embrace of a culture into the cold air of fragmentary existence.[2]

In sociological parlance, we say that the Indian in the above situation is a *marginal* man—that is, one who has a foot in each of two cultures but who is not a fully participating member of either. Or to use a term which has more recently come into use, we can diagnose the Indian's and his society's condition as one of *anomie*.

Anomie

Emile Durkheim, influential French sociologist, has given us the term *anomie* to refer to a condition in a society or group where the normative order has broken down to some degree. The degree of anomie may range from slight contradiction and confusion (simple anomie) to serious deterioration and disintegration (acute anomie).[3]

The term has also been used in a psychological sense. MacIver spoke of it as ". . . a state of mind in which the individual's sense of social cohesion—the mainspring of his morale—is broken or fatally weakened."[4] Psychological anomie may be due to societal anomie in the original Durkheimian sense as during a period of revolution or in the case of the Indian just described by Sapir. Or it may be due to other (and not completely understood) social, psychological, and physiological factors which disturb the individual's sense of belonging and relatedness to others, as in some mental illness.

[1] Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine or Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 29, pp. 414, 1924. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press, publishers.

[2] *Ibid.*, 415–416. Reprinted by permission.

[3] Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, revised edition, p. 163, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957.

[4] Robert M. MacIver, *The Ramparts We Guard*, p. 84, 85, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950.

Our interest, at the moment, is in the societal or group meaning of anomie. As such, it represents the opposite pole of integration. We have normativeness or consensus on the one hand, and some lack of normativeness or consensus on the other. And, it would seem that in all societies there are factors and forces present making for each. It was Sumner who saw the parts of the culture (the folkways and mores) as "being subject to a strain of consistency with each other."[1] Now we have Merton analyzing our own social structure as also producing "a strain toward anomie."[2] For an ongoing society, the forces making for integration must obviously be dominant. But until a perfectly integrated society is found, we can assume that some factors are present in all societies which prevent such perfect integration. Or, to turn it around, there are at least some factors which exert a strain toward anomie.

Culture lag

Another phenomenon related to integration has been conceptualized as *culture lag*.[3] Culture, as seen in the perspective of time, is always changing—even in societies which, compared to ours, seem to stand still. Because a society's total cultural pattern is composed of interlacing and reasonably well-integrated folkways, institutions, etc., a change (an invention, population growth—anything new or different) in one portion of the culture will produce stresses and strains in the related parts of the web. The need and the desire for a re-integrating readjustment—one which will bring the whole structure back into equilibrium—will tend, eventually, to bring about adaptive changes. But the equilibrium-restoring response is usually not immediate. There may, indeed, be a considerable *time lag* before the remainder of the culture catches up and integration is re-achieved.

For example, after the introduction of the automobile in our society, it was some time before adequate highways began to be built, to name only one of the adaptive changes required. As the speed and the number of cars increased, the redesigning and building of sufficient highways has repeatedly been lagging. So it has been with the problem of city traffic and parking. Even by the time heroic measures are taken to catch up on the lag, the increased number of automobiles has created a new lag. Nevertheless, the effort at readjustment continues. Change in one part of the culture and, elsewhere in the culture, a lagging readjustment to re-achieve integration of the total pattern—this is the story not only of the automobile but of most innovations in our world today.

Rapid change, culture lag, and anomie

When change comes slowly and the society is small, a high degree of integration is more easily achieved and maintained. Role activities are more easily co-ordinated and consensus more easily achieved.[4] We can then more often find the degree of "balance and harmony" which Sapir described. In such societies, neither anomie nor culture lag are apt to be present to any significant degree. Society and personality can be more perfectly meshed and a person can die in essentially the same cultural world into which he is born.

But it is a different story in our contemporary world, where the changes are coming "thick and fast"—and in a large-scale society with many subcultures, with a very complex division of labor and complex institutional patterns to co-ordinate it all. In a fast-changing society, culture lag is inevitable and prominent. And, when culture lag is added to the heterogeneity of a society like ours, the strain toward anomie becomes more pronounced.

It is no accident that the emphasis upon the integrating tendencies—the strain toward consistency—and upon the extreme functional view should have grown out of the study of slowly changing, small societies. Nor is it surprising that the study of our contemporary, rapidly changing, large-scale society should have forced the recognition of culture lag and the strain toward anomie. In perspective, however, we see that both the integrating processes and the anomic processes are simultaneously present in all societies, though in different proportions. In a continuing society,

[1] William Graham Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 5, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1934.
[2] Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
[3] William F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, pp. 200–213, The Viking Press, New York, 1950.

[4] In his *Division of Labor* (The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1947), Durkheim stressed "organic solidarity" or the kind of integration achieved through the interdependence (symbiosis) of specialized roles. In his *Suicide* (The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1951), Durkheim stressed "mechanical solidarity" or integration, resting on the consensus found in what we have been calling the normative order. In the last analysis, of course, roles are themselves sets of normative behavior patterns expected of persons in certain positions or statuses.

however, integration is dominant. There must be enough integration to keep it going. And, if at times, the integration decreases to the point where strains become intolerable, "revolutionary" readjustments are likely to follow. Even these are to be seen, however, as integrating processes—further illustrating the point that a substantial degree of integration is one of the functional prerequisites of an ongoing human society.

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Part II

Personality

Chapter 5

Personality and Culture

The Time Perspective

One of the most deeply rooted, and largely unconscious, features of any culture is . . . the *time perspective.* Within the United Nations, at least three different time perspectives operate.

"Gentlemen, it is time for lunch, we must adjourn," announces the Anglo-Saxon chairman, in the unabashed belief that having three meals a day at regular hours is the proper way for mankind to exist.

"But why? We haven't finished what we were doing," replies—in a puzzled manner that grows rapidly more impatient—an Eastern European Delegate, in whose country people eat when the inclination moves them and every family follows its own individual timetable.

"Why, indeed?" placidly inquires the Far Eastern Representative, hailing from a country where life and time are conceived as a continuous stream, with no man being indispensable, with no life-process needing to be interrupted for any human being, and where members of electoral bodies walk in and out of the room quietly, getting a bite to eat when necessary, talking to a friend when pleasant; but where meetings, theatre performances, and other arranged affairs last without interruptions for hours on end, while individuals come and go, are replaced by others, meditate or participate as the occasion requires, without undue strain, stress, or nervous tension.

As one or the other group persists in its own conception of the time perspective, as the Anglo-Saxons demand that the duration of meetings and conferences be fixed in advance and that meals be taken regularly at fixed hours, and as the Russians sit irritated and the Latins puzzled and the Secretariat frantic—as this condition continues, mutual friction grows, murmurs of "unreasonableness" are heard around the room; and, when the issue under discussion is an important one, overt accusations are hurled across the room of "insincerity," "lack of a serious approach to the problem," and even "sabotage."

"The Time Perspective" is from I. Telberg, "They Don't Do It Our Way," *Courier* (UNESCO), vol. 3, pp. 6–7, 1950. Reprinted by permission of the author and the Journal.

* * *

Society, culture, and personality

In Part I, we focused our attention on *society* and *culture*. Now, in Part II, we turn to the important and related concept of *personality*.

Society, it will be recalled, refers to a unity of individuals. Culture refers to the learned and shared behavior patterns characteristic of a society. But we also made the point that both the concepts of society and culture are abstract—abstracted from concrete human behavior. This is important to keep in mind. After all, the sociologist does not look at human behavior through "magic" glasses and somehow see society and culture. Like everyone else, he sees clusters of people working, playing, loving, living—busy striving to get what they consider to be the necessary and desirable things of life. It is only from the regularities of this multifarious behavior that the concepts of society and culture are abstracted.

Thus it is with the concept of personality. It also is abstracted from actual behavior:

> . . . behavior, however consistent, is not the same thing as personality; personality lies *behind* behavior and *within* the individual. The forces of personality are not responses [behavior], but *readiness for response*. . . .[1]

But the concept of personality also includes the idea that these "readinesses" are more or less organized into a unity. This is what Newcomb implies when he defines personality as *"The individual's organization of predispositions to behavior. . . ."* [2] Personality refers to a person's more or less organized predis-

[1] T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, p. 5, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950.

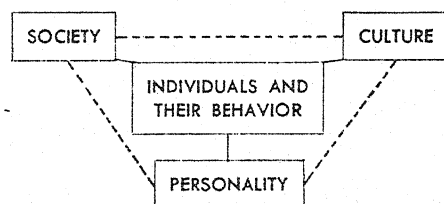
[2] Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, pp. 344–345, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1950.

positions to "perform, perceive, think, and feel"[1] in a certain way with regard to somebody or something.

Because personality, like the concepts of society and culture, is abstracted from the same concrete reality (individuals and their behavior), the three concepts have important interrelationships. In fact, as Linton has observed, society, culture, and personality

. . . are so closely interdependent that investigators are likely to become confused when they try to differentiate them. . . . Nevertheless, each of the three is a phenomenon of a different order and each has its own special characteristics and its special role in the dynamic configuration formed by all three together.[2]

This interrelationship may be diagramatically conceptualized as shown in the following figure.

Interrelationship Between Society, Culture and Personality

The very concept of a normative order, as we noted in the discussion of the prerequisites of a human society, implies agreed-upon behavior which is internalized in the members. We used the term *socialization* to refer to all experiences by which the newly arrived young members learn the culture of the society. This is looking at it from the viewpoint of the society. But if we look at it from the viewpoint of the individual, socialization is the process by which the individual acquires his *predispositions to behave* according to his group's ways.

In this chapter, we want to consider some of the major consequences for personality of this socialization process—in short, the role of the culture in the formation of personality.

Culture and subculture

Cultural attitudes in different societies

The selection, "The Time Perspective," presented at the beginning of this chapter, illustrates the importance of culture for personality. Why is it that Anglo-Saxons *feel* it necessary to adjust the length of meetings according to meal times, while Middle Eastern and Far Eastern representatives do not? It would be difficult to explain the origin of such cultural differences. But once such expectations are shared in a society or a group of societies, it is not difficult to explain why these particular U.N. delegates have different "predispositions to behave" with regard to time and meals. These predispositions to "perform, perceive, think, and feel" were learned from other persons who had the same time perspective and values. Using the term *attitude* instead of the longer phrase "predisposition to behave," we can speak of the "time-attitudes" of the U.N. delegates as *cultural attitudes*.

As we move from society to society, we find many interesting differences in the cultural attitudes of the societal members. For example, in England, Canada, the United States, and many other countries, the attitude held toward hissing is that it is very rude and insulting behavior. In Japan, on the other hand, hissing is a mark of respect when directed toward a person of superior social rank. And the Basuto, of Africa, applaud by hissing.

Weston LeBarre reports that: "Spitting in very many parts of the world is a sign of utmost contempt; and yet among the Masai of Africa it is a sign of affection and benediction."[3] He also tells of an interesting experience in which a difference in cultural attitudes toward keeping the hands busy resulted in confusion in communicating.

One day in the willow-branch "shade" where we were working, I asked a favorite informant of mine among the Kiowa, Old Mary Buffalo, where something was. . . . It was clear that she had heard me, for her eighty-eight-year-old ears were by no means deaf; but she kept on busying both hands with her work. I wondered at her rudeness and repeated the request several times, until finally with a puzzled exasperation which matched my own, she dropped her work and fetched it for me from plain sight: she had been repeatedly pointing with her lips in approved American Indian fashion, as any Caucasian numbskull should have been able to see.[4]

The world is full of such examples of differences in cultural norms and their counterpart cultural attitudes in persons. Among the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[2] Ralph Linton, *The Tree of Culture*, p. 29, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1957. Reprinted by permission.

[3] Weston Le Barre, "The Cultural Basis of Emotions and Gesture," *Journal of Personality*, vol. 16, pp. 49–56, 1947.
[4] *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.

The role of culture in personality formation is dramatized in this photograph of "culture turnabouts"—Paul Fung, Jr. (left) who is completely American in culture and Joseph Rhinehart (Fung Kwok-Keung) who is a white American by birth but who was reared in a Chinese family in China and was completely Chinese in his culture when he first returned to America as a young man. Brought together by Amram Scheinfeld, they were photographed in his studio (February, 1950) just after Paul Fung, Jr., a professional cartoonist, had drawn a sketch of Joseph Rhinehart, below which the latter had written his name in Chinese. For a further description of the two men, see Amram Scheinfeld, The New You and Heredity, *pages 505–506. (From Amram Scheinfeld,* The New You and Heredity, *1950. Reproduced by permission of the author and J. B. Lippincott Company. Photograph by M. Lasser.)*

Chiricahua Apache, it is tabu for a son-in-law to speak to his mother-in-law because she is held in such great respect.[1] How American mothers-in-law must envy the Chiricahua Apache!

The value placed on religious life in Hindu India results in quite a different personality type when contrasted with the more "practical" value placed on religious life by so many Americans.

Not only do people sit in order to rest muscles used in standing and walking, but they also sit a certain way, depending upon the presence or absence of chairs, stoves, cushions, mats, etc., as well as upon the esthetic, social, and religious attitudes attached

[1] M. E. Opler, "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," in Frederick Eggan, editor, *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, pp. 171–239, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937.

Cultural variations in sitting postures. Sitting cross-legged (top row) predominates south and east of Near Eastern influence. Sedentary kneeling postures (102–104) are typically Japanese. Sitting with legs folded to one side (106–108) is a feminine trait except for male Mohave Indians. The deep squat (fourth row) is uncomfortable for adult Europeans but is common to a fourth of mankind. Last two rows show asymmetrical postures. (From Gordon W. Hewes, "The Anthropology of Culture," Scientific American, *vol. 196, p. 125, February, 1957)*

to certain postures as shown above. "Many rugged individualists are amazed, when shown pictures of the motor habits which prevail in their society, to discover how culture-bound they really are." [1]

Even the language we use has "built-in" cultural points of view which have their impact upon our personalities. This is admirably illustrated by the following section from a radio script in which HERE likes to point out things about our own language and THERE finds his examples in other societies.

[1] Mischa Titiev, *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology,* pp. 257–258, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1959.

HERE: As we think, so we speak; as we speak, so we think. . . . And as we learn our language from our mother's lips, we also learn the customs and attitudes of our society. For language reflects these customs and attitudes . . .

THERE: [A child wails and misbehaves]: Over here, for instance, is a child misbehaving; and here comes its mother. She's going to tell it to behave properly. But let us notice carefully what word she used.

MOTHER: John, be *good!*

HERE: Be good. The English-speaking child that misbehaves is bad, naughty, or wicked. So is the Italian-speaking child, or the Greek-speaking one.

THERE: But listen to what the French mother says to her child.

FRENCH MOTHER: Jean, sois sage!

THERE: Sois sage: be wise. The French-speaking child that misbehaves is not bad, it is foolish, it is imprudent, it is injudicious.

HERE: In the Scandinavian countries, things are different again.

SWEDISH MOTHER: Jan, var snell!

NORWEGIAN MOTHER: Jan, ble snil!

HERE: Both mean the same thing: be friendly, be kind. So the misbehaving Scandinavian child is unfriendly, unkind, uncooperative.

THERE: Things are very different in Germany.

GERMAN MOTHER: Hans, sei artig!

THERE: Be in line! The misbehaving German child is not conforming, it is out of step, out of line. A mother of the Hopi Indians of the southwest United States has the same idea, only in a more gentle spirit.

HOPI MOTHER: No, no, no, no—that is not the Hopi way.

THERE: Hopi is the right thing, the proper way to do things, the ways the affairs of the tribe, and indeed of the Universe, are managed. The Hopi child that misbehaves is not bad, or imprudent or unfriendly, or, quite, out of line. He is not on the Hopi way; he is not in step with the Hopi view of destiny and of life.

HERE: So, even in the words a mother says to her misbehaving child, we can detect again how language reflects culture.[1]

Not just the words but even the grammatical structure of a language will reflect the culture. For example, Carroll and Casagrande [2] compared three- and four-year-old Navaho-speaking Indian children with English-speaking white, American children of the same age. They found that the Navaho-speaking children tended to classify objects by their shape, rather than by their color. White children tended to classify objects first by color, rather than by shape. Carroll and Casagrande concluded that this was so because form, material, and shape concepts play a larger part in the grammatical structure of the Navaho language, while color concepts play a larger part in the grammar of English.

Observations of this kind led Whorf to generalize:

> . . . the background linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas, but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational . . . , but is a part of a particular grammar, and differs slightly to greatly between different grammars.[3]

Subcultural attitudes

In understanding the contributions of culture to personality, it is important to keep in mind that a person's exposure is not to "culture in general" but to the cultures of the particular groups in which he lives. We say groups because in large societies, each person's groups are multiple. We are members of American society and therefore share in American culture. But we are also members of smaller population segments within the larger society. To some extent, regional, class, nationality, and racial subgroups display cultural variations. Furthermore, they differ from one another not just with regard to an isolated trait or two, but in many respects, and ". . . constitute relatively cohesive cultural systems. They are worlds within the larger world of our national culture." [4] They are *subcultures.*

Most American families will have certain things in common; and the schools, TV, and comic books will expose most American children to similar cultural stimuli. Yet, much of the culture of a Negro child is not experienced by a white child. Furthermore, the cultural experiences of each will vary according to his social class. In quite a few respects, the culture of a New Englander differs from that of a Southerner. The culture of a Midwest-

1 From a radio script, "A Word in Your Ear," by Lister Sinclair. Reprinted by permission of the Fund For Adult Education.

2 John B. Carroll and Joseph B. Casagrande, "The Function of Language Classifications in Behavior," p. 31, in *Readings in Social Psychology,* Eleanor E. Macoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley, (eds.) pp. 18–31. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1958.

3 B. L. Whorf, *Language, Thought and Reality,* p. 212, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1956. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

4 Mirra Komarovsky and S. Stansfeld Sargent, "Research into Subcultural Influences upon Personality," in S. Stansfeld Sargent and Marian W. Smith, editors, *Culture and Personality,* p. 143, Viking Fund, Inc., New York, 1949. Reprinted by permission. We are indebted to the authors of this chapter for their excellent review of studies on the influence of subcultures on personality.

erner differs from both. Differing from all three will be the culture of a Texan or a Californian. Within the Middlewest, for example, a considerable cultural difference exists between Keokuk and Chicago; or in Chicago, between Little Italy and Chinatown, between the "Gold Coast" and the "slum." [1]

There are also the cultural differences of the various religious groups, Jewish and Christian, Protestant and Catholic, orthodox and liberal. We might speak of the sports world, the medical world, the financial world. And within the sports world, we can identify the baseball world, the boxing world, and others. We have not only many subcultures in our society, but we can identify subcultures *within* subcultures. And if the distinctions are made fine enough we end up distinguishing family cultures—and to some extent each family culture is unique.[2]

Our purpose in this section, however, is merely to call attention to some of the main types of subcultures that make a rather obvious difference in the personalities of the individuals exposed to them.

1) *Regional subcultural variation,* as we have suggested, accounts for some of the variation in personalities found in the same society.

There is a "Southern" subculture that is shared by most persons south of the Mason-Dixon line and found in its most unadulterated form in the "Deep South." We have referred to New England and to the Midwest as subculture areas. The West in general has certain characteristics, but more pronounced within the West are the subcultures of the Southwest, the Great Plains, the Mountain States, California, and the Pacific Northwest.

John Gillin points out that a romantic or nostalgic value is given to Latin American culture in the American Southwest.[3] He also notes that the value of optimism is most pronounced in the farwestern regions of the United States. No matter where one lives in the United States, he will call himself "American," but he will also show distinctive ways of thinking, feeling, seeing, and doing which are characteristic of the particular regional subculture in which he predominantly participates.[4]

2) *Rural and urban ways of life,* especially in the past, tended to produce different kinds of persons with different ways of thinking, feeling, acting, and perceiving. With the advent of radio, TV, consolidated schools, automobiles, highways, rural electrification, differences between the caricatures of "country hick" and "city slicker" have been greatly reduced. Where once the more frequent and varied social contacts of the city-dweller made him more urbane, sophisticated, and worldly-wise than the country-dweller, modern communications devices have tended to equalize the frequency of social contacts between rural and urban inhabitants. Consequently, except for rural people "way back in the sticks," it is difficult to tell the difference between a person born and reared on a prosperous farm and a person born and reared in a middle-class residential area of a large city.

Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that some rural areas still do tend to produce persons with a different kind of personality than the urban area. A number of studies show that rural youth have the edge more often in self-reliance, a sense of economic values, and in a sense of personal worth. But they seem more often to take second place to urban children in ability to express themselves effectively and in general social adjustment.[5]

Schuler and Taylor, in trying to account for the independence of attitude and opinion that rural dwellers have shown over the years, concluded the following:

[1] See Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

[2] The very great variations in groups and situations in which American children grow up has been well described by Lois Barclay Murphy, "Social Factors in Child Development," in Theodore M. Newcomb, Eugene L. Hartley, and others, *Readings in Social Psychology,* pp. 129–139, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1947.

[3] John Gillin, "National and Regional Cultural Values in the United States," *Social Forces,* vol. 34, pp. 107–113, 1955.

[4] In this connection, the student is referred to the *American Folkways* series, edited by Erskine Caldwell, and published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York: such as Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country;* Otto Ernest Rayburn, *Ozark Country;* Jean Thomas, *Blue Ridge Country,* etc.

Regional family patterns are described by Joseph K. Folsom (New England), Rupert B. Vance (Southern), Ruth Shonle Cavan (Middle Western), and Norman S. Hayner (Western) in the *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 53, pp. 423–434, May, 1948.

[5] Farm, village, and urban children of Miami County, Ohio, were compared in the following study: A. R. Mangus, "Personality Adjustment of Rural and Urban Children," *American Sociological Review,* vol. 13, pp. 566–575, October, 1948.

High school seniors in the State of Washington and women students at the Washington State University were the subjects, respectively, of the following two studies: Lloyd J. Elias, *Farm Youths' Appraisal of Their Adjustments, Compared with Other Youth,* Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations, Rural Sociology Youth Series, No. 7, Bulletin No. 513, December, 1949; and Paul H. Landis, "Personality Differences of Girls from Farm, Town, and City," *Rural Sociology,* vol. 14, pp. 11–20, March, 1949.

1. The farmer is his own boss and is deeply conscious of the fact. He is used to making his own decisions. He takes pride in his independence to the extent that he sometimes tends to be "provincial or narrowly nationalistic."
2. The farmer is dependent upon so many natural factors beyond his control—the soil, the weather—that these affect his philosophy.
3. Because of the great variety of things he must know and the great variety of skills he must possess, he places greater value on "versatility, self-reliance, and resourcefulness."
4. His psychology is also different because of the "intimate relationship between occupation and family life." Such co-operative involvement creates a social unit unknown in cities and is productive of distinctive attitudes.[1]

Generalizations about the over-all effect of rural or urban cultures have a certain degree of validity, but they also leave us somewhat unsatisfied. There are actually so many rural and so many urban environments. A city under 50,000 is different from one of 250,000, and there is another environment altogether in cities of over a million. Moreover, within a similar classification, there may be differences as between Los Angeles and Detroit. Even more important differences are to be found within a large city: slums, rooming-house areas, areas of racial segregation, working-class districts, middle-class neighborhoods, and exclusive upper-class sections. There are also areas dominated by immigrant groups of various nationalities. To say that a person is a New Yorker tells us a little about him, but to identify the area in New York City in which he lives is more revealing to anyone acquainted with the cultural differences of the areas.

Similarly, great differences appear among rural environments. Some rural environments are much more urban than others, because they are near a city or because of the economic and educational level of the persons living in them. Climates and crops also vary. A farmer from the Ozarks is likely to have different cultural attitudes than a prosperous sugar-beet farmer in the Columbia River Basin. A farmer in the Midwest corn belt will think and feel differently than a cattle rancher in the Southwest.

3) *Social class subcultures* make a difference in the kinds of cultural attitudes to be found in a given personality. As discussed in Chapter Twelve, the connotation given social class varies widely. But no sociologist denies the reality of stratification. Furthermore, there is agreement that the various status levels do have different styles of life which make their mark upon personality. Allison Davis, a leading investigator of this subject, portrayed some of the differences in cultural attitudes and personality in the following way:

> The slum child whose own parents curse as a routine method of communication, fight over a difference of opinion, and consider the school unimportant in their future, lives in a physical, economic, and cultural subworld unlike that in which the middle-class child is trained. . . . That behavior which middle-class teachers, clinicians, and psychiatrists often regard as "delinquent," "hostile," or "unmotivated" in slum children is usually . . . in slum life . . . a socially acceptable response to reality. . . .
>
> The middle-class child . . . is pressed by his parents to learn too early and too fast . . . he comes home earlier in the evening and works longer on his school lessons. He is more worried, more apt to suck his thumb and show other anxiety symptoms (in a three to one ratio) than lower-class children. He works much harder in school because of insistent pressure by the family upon him for early and rapid attainment. . . .
>
> Youngsters from the lower-class have more anxieties about food, in view of their unstable food supply . . . , anxiety about being evicted from shelter, of having too little sleep, of being cold and alone in the dark. . . . When they have fires, their homes are stifling hot, and everyone sits as close to the stove as possible, remembering anxiously what it was like to be cold. It would be more rational if they saved and budgeted their money, but human beings are not rational. They are what their culture teaches them to be. Lower-class people cannot learn middle-class foresight and moderation unless they can participate socially with middle-class people. . . .[2]

The effects of upper-class culture upon personality are equally distinct.[3] Upper-class children have to learn an entirely different set of folkways and mores. The differences

> . . . encompass the entire range of social behavior—occupation, consumption habits, education, manner of speaking, mode of dress, philosophy of life, recreational pursuits, associational activity, social attitudes, family life, and the like.[4]

[1] Edgar A. Schuler and Carl C. Taylor, "Farm People's Attitudes and Opinions," in Carl C. Taylor, *et al., Rural Life in the United States,* pp. 495–509, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1949.

[2] Speech before the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth as reported by the *University of Chicago Magazine,* vol. 43, p. 9, 1951. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, University of Chicago Alumni Association.

[3] For interesting portraits of personality types in the various classes of *Yankee City,* see W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community,* pp. 127–210, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.

[4] James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development,* p. 285, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1948. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

The very existence of etiquette books in America testifies to the reality of class subcultures.[1] One learns automatically the subculture of the class in which he is reared, but the ways of the next class up usually have to be learned by means other than constant social contact. By reading up on the fine points, many of the required behaviors can be learned. Of course, one can simply watch the hostess to pick up the proper spoon, but see what an advantage a person has if he has read Emily Post! He can then select the proper spoon with an aplomb that releases his mental energies for the witty and interesting conversation which is the mark of a "charming dinner guest."

Differences in attitudes because of social class subcultures are, of course, more pronounced in societies in which class differences are greater. The London Cockney, living in the Bow Bells district of England's capital city, speaks with a much different accent than the Queen of England, living in Buckingham Palace. The member of the Brahmin caste in Hindu India takes his food differently, worships differently and works differently than a member of the caste below him. Throughout the world, wherever class subcultures are found, persons participating in these subcultures tend to have different cultural attitudes and, hence, different personalities.

4) *Racial subculture* membership also plays an important part in determining the kinds of cultural attitudes one will have and, hence, the way in which one will be predisposed to respond to his physical and social environment. Consider, for example, the Negroes in the United States. What does being a Negro do to personality? A number of studies have dealt with this question.[2]

In this connection, however, we must point out that we can scarcely speak of the effect of *a* Negro subculture upon personality, although some attitudes are shared by most Negroes. There are many Negro subcultures, and they also vary essentially by rural and urban location, by region, and by class. There is a world of difference between the subculture of an upper-class Negro in Boston, and the subculture of a Mississippi Delta Negro tenant, and between the many other Negro subcultures.

5) *Nationality or ethnic subcultures* are distinctive subcultures which were developed outside the main stream of American cultural life. Some of the cultures were here when the Pilgrims came: the great variety of Indian cultures and to some extent, the Spanish-American culture of the Southwest. Others were brought in by the various immigrant groups. The most intact are the cultures of the nationality groups which have most recently migrated to the United States: the Italian, Polish, Greek, Russian, and other Southern and Eastern European groups.

Where nationality groups form "cultural islands," the subculture is actually the predominant cultural influence in the personalities of its members. And if any of the members move out from their nationality groups, the adjustment involves specific difficulties. Here are the experiences, for example, of a man who grew up in a German speaking home and community.

Until he was four years old, John spoke only German. Then he was taught English in preparation for school. From the ages of six to thirteen, he was completely bilingual, speaking German at home, English in school, and a mixture of both on the playground. There was no personality conflict since most of the other children were in the same boat. But from the age of ten on, he became aware of the class differences of the German and English speaking people; and he became conscious of speaking English with a German accent. When at the age of fourteen the family moved to a completely English speaking community, his problem came to a focus.

"My 'Dutch accent,' as it was called, must have been conspicuous. It was noticed and commented upon. Now began a period in my life of definite unhappiness which lasted for about twelve years. In my high-school classes, I would not answer even though I knew what the answer was. I was fearful of comment about my accent. My written work, the teachers all said, was much better than my oral work, and I alone knew the reason for it. It was because I was ashamed to get up and speak. I can remember, too, making up many excuses to avoid oral recitations—a sore throat, an aching tooth, something in my eye, etc.

1 This thesis has been set forth by J. S. Slotkin, *Social Anthropology*, p. 131, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950.

2 John Dollard, *Caste and Class in Southern Town*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937.
Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, and Mary Gardner, *Deep South*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941.
Published by the American Council on Education are the following:
E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Middle States.*
Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Rural South.*
Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South.*
Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class and Personality.*

Subcultural settings—a Midwestern dairy farm, a Great Plains wheat farm, a Negro slum, an urban apartment district, a Gloucester lobster fishing site, a Latin American district in Los Angeles—suggest a few of the many subcultures in our society which leave their differentiating marks upon personalities. (Ewing Galloway)

"Meanwhile, I was busy trying to do something about it. I began the practice of reading aloud, slowly and distinctly, repeating sentences and phrases to make them sound more English. I insisted that only English be spoken at home. My parents tried to do so, but the linguistic habits of a lifetime are not easy to break. Often they would for-

get, and then I would become sullen and refuse to answer them. The worst times for me came when my German-speaking relatives arrived for a visit. It was at these times that I was in turn embarrassed, irritated, and embittered. I would stay away from home at such times, or, if at home, would speak only when spoken to and then only in monosyllables. Naturally, my relatives noticed this. Some were hurt by it, others resented it, while most of them told my parents that I was a badly mannered young man from whom no good could be expected. . . . I began to hate all Germans—my parents, relatives and friends—because they seemed to personify all my personal problems which grew out of my German ancestry." [1]

In the long run, cultural islands of national groups cannot help but be submerged by the general American culture, but the process is sometimes very gradual. In many communities, third and fourth generation Americans show the lingering effects of ancestral cultures.

German culture has not disappeared altogether among the "Pennsylvania Dutch," or in Milwaukee, St. Louis, and many another Midwestern community. The Swedish and other Scandinavian cultures are still in evidence in Minnesota. Nationality subcultures cast long shadows.

Another example of the effect of nationality subcultures upon personality is that alcoholism is almost nonexistent among Jews, although Jews are not abstainers, and very high among Irish-Americans.[2] However, as persons of either background move out of their subcultures, the alcoholism rate of the Jews rises while the Irish rate declines, each tending toward the average American level.[3]

6) *Religious subcultures* are another important source of varying social norms which affect personality. As with race, however, it is difficult to point to specific correlations between certain religious groupings and certain personality characteristics. We do know, in general, that Protestantism is more closely associated with upper-class membership in the United States than Catholicism.[4] But there is some evidence that this may be a function of more recent immigration of Catholics into the United States. Hence, Catholics have not had time to climb up the social class ladder.[5] Nevertheless, even religiously-affiliated social class membership has significance for personality development.

Perhaps more important for personality are the subcultures classed as religious *sects*. Such groups as the Amish and Mennonites, the Dunkers and Shakers, the Doukhobors in British Columbia, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others consciously and strongly hold on to religious ideas and ways of life felt to be different and superior. Their dogged resistance to the general American or Canadian culture helps to create the *sectarian* personality, as Ellsworth Faris termed it.[6] Their attitudes not only set them apart but also reflect varying degrees of opposition to the culture of the larger society. They are more ethnocentric than the members of the larger, loosely knit denominational groups tend to be.[7]

7) *Occupational subcultures.* Even occupations may have associated subcultures which make a difference in personality. Medical doctors share in the general culture, but they also live in a cultural world of their own. They have a sizeable scientific vocabulary and an impressive storehouse of knowledge and skills not possessed by most persons (and shared only by certain scientific subculture groups). They are guided by a code of folkways and mores distinctive to their profession, and they share certain beliefs and points of view not generally held in common. They read medical journals and attend medical conventions, and in between they "talk shop" with medical colleagues. There is no question but that there is an easily recognized subculture in which doctors of medicine live—a cultural world not experienced by outsiders.

Furthermore, this medical subculture has a decided effect upon the personality of the doctor. Largely because of the demanding and irregular nature of his duties, his mental,

[1] Bossard, *op. cit.*, pp. 214 ff. Pages 200–222 are devoted to the problems of the "Bilingual Child." Reprinted by permission.

[2] For an analysis of Jewish cultural attitudes with regard to alcoholic beverages, and a comparison with Irish attitudes, *see* Robert F. Bales, "Rates of Alcoholism: Cultural Difference," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, vol. 6, pp. 480–499, 1946. See also, Charles R. Snyder, *Alcohol and the Jews*, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1958.

[3] For a description of a number of ethnic family patterns, *see* the articles by Bessie Bloom Wessel (American Jewish Family), Paul J. Campisi (Italian Family in the U. S.), and Robert C. Jones (Mexican Family in the U. S.) in the *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 53, pp. 439–452, 1948.

[4] Thomas Ford Hoult, *The Sociology of Religion*, pp. 301–306, Dryden Press, New York, 1958.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

[6] Ellsworth Faris, "The Sect and the Sectarian," in Ernest W. Burgess, *Personality and the Social Group*, pp. 134–150, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

[7] This is the finding reported in Adorno, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–215. For an account of religious sects *see* Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country*, pp. 240–272, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., New York, 1946; also the various books of Marcus Bach.

emotional, and social life is different. The personalities of his wife and children also show the effect of living in such close, direct and indirect, contact with the cultural world of their husband and father. Probably only those who have known a doctor's family well can fully appreciate what a difference the medical subculture makes in the personalities of the doctor and the other members of his family.

Railroading is an occupational subculture which also makes a rather decided imprint upon the railroader and his family. W. F. Cottrell, in *The Railroader,* describes this cultural world. Among other things, he presents a twenty-page glossary of railroad language, evidence of the extent and distinctiveness of railroad culture.

As for the factors which affect personality, Cottrell concludes that the frequent changes of residence and the extreme dependence on the clock are among the most significant.

> . . . The influence of institutions which mold and form character, that serve to give stability to personality, that provide the nexus between person and locality are continually broken by this mobility. The creation of the family is delayed, and its formation altered by reason of a long period of rapid shifts in location. Contacts with church and school are transitory. Participation in government and the community is made purely secular and pecuniary. Status is more and more dependent upon a financial rating. . . .[1]

Cottrell also points out that the dependence upon time interferes with the railroad family's relationship to other groups in the community, and even with the relationship of family members to each other.

A number of other interesting studies have been made of occupational subcultures and their relation to personality.[2] Obviously, the size and extent of such subcultures varies considerably; some involve many more differences from the general culture than others.

The subcultural aspects of occupation are not confined to the specific occupation. Labor or trade union members share not only different attitudes toward company profits than members of management, but many other differences in attitude. White collar workers, even when they make no more money, or even less money, than wage workers, feel differently and behave differently. Concerning their mode of dress, C. Wright Mills observed:

> White-collar people's claims to prestige are expressed . . . by their style of appearance. Their occupations enable and require them to wear street clothes at work. Although they may be expected to dress somewhat somberly, still, their working attire is not a uniform, or distinct from clothing generally suitable for street wear . . . the wage worker may wear standardized street clothes off the job, but the white-collar worker wears them on the job as well. This difference is revealed by the clothing budgets of wage-workers and white-collar people, especially of girls and women . . . women working as clerks . . . compared with wage-working women of similar income, spend a good deal more on clothes; and the same is true of men. . . .[3]

This, of course, is but one example of the white collar way of life, which certainly makes a difference in a person's attitude.

Integrated subcultural exposure. For all our distinguishing of separate subcultures, any one person experiences his several subcultures as a unit. In reality, our Mississippi Negro tenant farmer ". . . is not a member of three separate subcultures: lower-class, Southern, and rural, but is a Southern-rural-lower-class Negro."[4] He lives in a group of persons like himself and his personality has upon it the stamp of their common "Southern-rural-lower-class-Negro" subculture. So it is with each person: his subcultural exposure is an

[1] Reprinted from *The Railroader,* by W. F. Cottrell, p. 59, with the permission of the author and of the publishers, Stanford University Press. See also W. F. Cottrell, "Of Time and the Railroader," *American Sociological Review,* vol. 4, pp. 190–198, April, 1939.

[2] The world of the college teacher is described in Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace,* Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1958. See also, Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man.*

The world of the waitress is described by William Foote Whyte in a chapter, "When Workers and Customers Meet," in William Foote Whyte, (ed.), *Industry and Society,* pp. 123–147, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1946.

Other occupational subcultures are described directly or indirectly in: L. C. Rosten, *The Washington Correspondents,* Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1937; William E. Henry, "The Business Executive; the Psychodynamics of a Social Role," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 54, pp. 286–291, 1949; William H. Whyte, Jr., "The Wives of Management," *Fortune,* vol. 44, pp. 86 ff., 1951; Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," *Social Forces,* vol. 18, pp. 560–568, 1940.

For a description of more unconventional occupational subcultures, *see* Nels Anderson, *The Hobo,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1923; E. H. Sutherland, *The Professional Thief,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937;- and Harland W. Gilmore, *The Beggar,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1940.

[3] C. Wright Mills, *White Collar,* p. 241, Oxford University Press, New York, 1950. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

[4] Mirra Komarovsky and S. Stansfeld Sargent, "Research into Subcultural Influences upon Personality," in S. Stansfeld Sargent and Marian W. Smith, editors, *Culture and Personality,* p. 144, Viking Fund, Inc., New York, 1949. Reprinted by permission. See also Milton M. Gordon. "The Concept of the Sub-culture and its Application," *Social Forces,* vol. 26, pp. 40–42, October, 1947.

integrated one. One Iowa child experiences a "Midwestern-rural-middle-class-German-white-Protestant" subculture. Another Iowa child's exposure may be to a "Midwestern-urban-middle-class-white-Irish-Catholic" subculture. To point out this fact in no way deemphasizes the importance of the subcultures we have identified, but simply reminds us of the unified and integrated way in which a particular person meets the subcultural influences which make such an important difference in his personality.

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Chapter 6

Social Roles and Culture Conflict

The First Tipi

It wasn't really very different, Spear Girl thought, being married and not being married. [So thought the young Kiowa woman, Spear Girl.] You worked just about as hard, and the great difference that you had expected—not having your mother boss you—hadn't happened at all. They were all at home in the old tipi: her mother and sister, and Hunting Horse and herself, and they just went on doing the same old things the same old way. It wasn't much fun.

Bow Girl came and sat beside her, to pack the pounded meat into rawhide cases. They were quiet for a long time, because, being sisters, they didn't need to talk with their voices. After a while their uncle came and sat down with them.

"Where is your husband, niece?" he asked Spear Girl.

"At Sitting Bear's camp. They are making a feast for the Herders Society because that is Young Sitting Bear's society."

"That is your husband's, too."

"Yes, it is his."

Their uncle took out his pipe. It was old, a little short section of the big leg-bone of a deer. He didn't smoke it in the evenings, when all the men gathered around, smoking, because he had a big red pipe that he liked to show off with. But when he really wanted to think, he got out the little old bone pipe.

"The First Tipi" is from Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*. pp. 64–71, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1948. By permission of the author and the publisher.

"Your husband goes to society meetings as if he were not married."

"He likes to be with other young men, uncle."

"That's all right. Men like to be with each other part of the time. But part of the time they should be with their wives, too."

"My husband is with me a lot when he isn't working."

"He would be with you more if you had your own tipi."

Spear Girl felt ashamed. They were poor, and they had always been poor, because, until she married, they had no man to work for them all the time. Her uncle was rich, and he helped a lot, but that didn't take the place of someone working all the time. She didn't like to say so to her uncle, because he was good and generous, and helped them more than he was obliged to, as it was.

He shook out his pipe, now, and turned to face her directly. "I've been thinking a lot. Hunting Horse has nobody to help him get started. You have your mother and sister, and that's all. Somebody has to help you two. I guess I'd better do it."

Spear Girl just sat and stared at him. It was like her uncle, but still she hadn't expected it. She didn't even thank him. She just stopped pounding down the dried meat and sat and stared, and Bow Girl stared, too.

"I don't want to give you everything to get you started." Her uncle was putting his pipe away now, because his thinking was over. "I'll give you what you need to make things out of. We won't make a give-away out of it, or have any ceremony. But you'll have what you need to work with. You two will have to do the working yourselves." Then he got up and walked off, and Spear Girl and Bow Girl just watched him go.

It was very late when Hunting Horse got home. The Herders Society members had danced a long time, and then they had eaten a big feast, and he was tired. He just flopped down and started breathing deep, and Spear Girl knew there was no use trying to tell him anything then.

She waked early, with her skin prickling all over, wondering what it was that was going to happen that was so big and good and exciting. Then she remembered. This was the day that they were to get their things to start living with. She punched Hunting Horse in the ribs with her elbow, and he grunted and turned over, and started breathing again. For a minute she started

to get angry with him, but the day was too good to spoil, so she got up quietly. She dressed and combed her hair. For a minute she thought about painting her face, and then decided that since it wasn't like getting regular wedding presents, she would look foolish if she did it. Instead, she went out and helped her mother get breakfast.

They had all had breakfast, even Hunting Horse, and the newness had rubbed off the day and most of the excitement was gone, when she saw her uncle coming across the camp. He was leading a horse, piled high with all sorts of things, and behind him came his two wives, each of them leading a horse with a big load. They stopped in front of the tipi.

"There you are, sister."

"Get down, brother."

Her uncle tied the horse, and stepped back into the shade beside the tipi. His wives tied their horses, and began to unload them. Spear Girl started to help them, but her mother called her back.

"You don't unload your own wedding presents, daughter."

She wanted very much to see what they were. But she would have to wait until every single thing was off all three horses before she could look. She got a dipper of water for her uncle, and he drank the water and handed the dipper back to her.

"I'm glad you like to use gourd dippers, niece. I have brought plenty of gourds for you to make them out of."

Well, that was fine. The gourds had got all sun-scorched that summer, and there weren't enough to make dippers for everybody. Even people who had got tin cups from the traders still kept some gourds around, and used old-time dippers for themselves. They just got the tin cups out when they had company and wanted to show off. Spear Girl knew how to make good dippers.

"Thank you, uncle," she said.

"There is everything there that you need to work with," her uncle said. "We have brought hides for a tipi, and willows for beds, and robes and deerskins to make bedding out of. All the hides are dried and rolled up. You'll have to tan them and cut them yourself, but there are a lot there. How many buffalo hides are there?" he asked his first wife.

"Thirty-two," she answered. "Enough for a big tipi. We have logs for tipi-poles over at our camp. Your husband will have to trim them down and bring them over himself."

Spear Girl wasn't paying much attention to the tipi-poles. She was thinking about the cover. Thirty-two hides were a lot, when they had to be tanned, and she had never cut or sewn a tipi-cover. Not very many people tried to cut their own. There were some women who were good at it, and they did that kind of work for everybody. But they wouldn't do the tanning.

Her mother was looking off across the camp, as if there were something she wanted to see on the other side. "My daughter's husband hasn't much to do," she said. "I guess he can start work on the tipi-poles right away."

Spear Girl heard that, and it turned her mind away from the tipi-cover. Her mother shouldn't speak like that, even about her son-in-law. It made her feel queer, and without looking at Hunting Horse she knew it made him feel queer, too. But he didn't say anything. He took his axe and started across to her uncle's tipi.

Everything was all unloaded now. It made a big pile in front of the tipi. People were coming up to see what was happening.

"That's a lot of hides," said Grass Woman. "Who's going to tan all those hides?" Spear Girl straightened up and stopped thinking about what a lot of work it was going to be.

"I am," she answered. "I want to tan the hides for my own tipi."

Bow Girl was standing beside her. "I'm going to help my sister," she added. "We always do everything together."

Nobody said anything, but Spear Girl felt better. The people around her felt better towards her. They must have been afraid she was going to let her mother do all the tanning.

Bow Girl brought water to her uncle's two wives. "That was hot work for you, all that loading and unloading," she told them, and her aunts said, "Yes, it was hot work, all right. Now you can get to work and get hot, too."

That was all right. You ought to get hot, working on your own home. Spear Girl didn't mind it. Grass Woman spoke again. She always had something to say. "That many hides takes a lot of brains for tanning. A hide needs all its own brains to tan itself. I have some brains. My man killed three buffalo this month, and I dried the brains and saved them. I'm going to make rawhide. I don't need them. You can have them."

Spear Girl was feeling better all the time. The newness seemed to be coming back to the day.

"Thank you for the brains," she told Grass Woman.

"I have brains, too." That was Pond Woman. "I don't need them. Four buffalo brains."

It was like a give-away, then. It seemed as if every woman in camp had been saving brains. They all wanted to give some away, and they all gave them to Spear Girl. Grass Woman and Pond Woman got their brains, and then the others went for theirs, too. Spear Girl stood and watched flat cakes of dried brains pile up beside the buffalo hides, and felt more and more excited. It was going to be all right. Now she could get to work right away, without waiting for Hunting Horse to finish the poles and then go buffalo hunting and bring back the brains, one at a time. This way they would finish their work on the tipi almost at the same time. That was right, too. They ought to work together, making their own home.

She said "thank you" to everybody, and when all had seen all the hides and the gourds and the willows for the beds, they went off to their own tipis, and Spear Girl could begin to put things away.

That was harder. There was just the one tipi for four of them, and they had it full already. While she was trying to bring in all the things that rain could spoil, her mother was sitting inside the tipi thinking. Spear Girl felt a little strange about her mother. Everybody else had given her things and had been encouraging, and wanted to see her get ahead, but her mother had hardly spoken all morning. Spear Girl didn't like it. It tied up a knot in her insides. She knew, suddenly, how her mother had felt the night that Spear Girl ran away with Hunting Horse, but knowing didn't make her feel any better now.

Finally her mother got up and came outside the tipi. Spear Girl and Bow Girl had everything picked up or covered up, and the camp looked nice again, with everything where it ought to be. Her mother looked at it all for a moment, with her eyes as if she didn't see.

"That's all right," she said, then. "I guess everything's the way it ought to be."

She was talking about the way the camp looked, but she was talking about something else, too. Spear Girl didn't exactly understand, but she knew that what her mother said went deep; down under the neatness and rightness of having everything where it ought to be.

Her mother sat down beside the tipi, with her legs folded sideways under her.

"I've been thinking a lot," she said. "I think I ought to do something for you, too."

"You don't have to," Spear Girl told her.

"I have the right to," said her mother. "I need to do something. That way I show respect for my daughter and the man she married. If I don't show respect for them, soon nobody's going to respect them. They'll just give things because they're sorry. That's not right. Nobody ought to have people feeling sorry for her."

"That's right," said Spear Girl. "That's what my uncle has said, lots of times."

"I can't do much," her mother went on. "We never did have much. But we have some things. What I'm going to do, I'm going to have the women come to cut out your tipi. Then I'm going to have more women come to help sew. Lots of women. We'll give them a feast, just the women. That way, your tipi will be made right, just like everybody else's. But you got to tan your hides yourself. Just your sister can help you."

Spear Girl felt better than she ever had in her life, . . .

* * *

In her book, Alice Marriott continues with the description of the ensuing activities and the final ceremonial feasting of the women in the completed tipi. But threaded throughout is Spear Girl's growing satisfaction and self-esteem at being able at last to live up to all the role expectations of being a married woman.

* * *

Social roles

Among the important cultural attitudes acquired by a person are those associated with his social roles. We noted in Chapter Two that the integration of activities and the ordering of social relations are among the functional prerequisites of a human society. We saw also that the co-ordination of the division of labor is achieved primarily through the assignment of labor, duties, and rights to positions or *statuses*. Thus, by having a set of expected behaviors, that is, *roles*, to go with each status, the many things which a society wants done will be distributed in an agreed-upon manner. This is the chief basis of orderliness. In this way the varied human potentialities, as Parsons put it ". . . dovetail into a

Table 6.1. Cross-cultural Contrasts in the Division of Labor

CULTURE	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH
		IN THE FOOD QUEST	
HIDATSA (NORTHERN PLAINS)	Hunt buffalo and other game	Plant, harvest and thresh maize and dig other plants and roots	Bring in meat or game (principally men). Clear and cultivate the fields (principally women)
QUICHE MAYA (GUATEMALA)	Prepare soil, plant and cultivate milpa	Cooking and preparing food	Harvesting, storing and graining of milpa
HOPI (SOUTHWEST)	Planting, cultivating, harvesting, and gardening. Hunting, trapping	Preparation and storing of food	Men slaughter and butcher and women dress and prepare meat
		IN MANUFACTURING	
HIDATSA	Making arrows, bows, spears and other tools	Dress hides, cut and sew tipi, cover and make clothing	Obtain poles for lodge, make travois basket, etc.
QUICHE MAYA	Building, repairing, furnishing buildings	Weaving	Sewing, firemaking, etc.
HOPI	Spinning and weaving, making and repairing clothing for both sexes	Basket making, plastering and making piki ovens	Housebuilding (men do heavy work; women do light work)

Sources: Compiled from Harold E. Driver and William C. Massey, "Comparative Studies of North American Indians," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 47, pp. 366–369, July, 1957, and E. Adamson Hoebel, *Man in the Primitive World*, p. 389, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1958.

single integrated system capable of meeting the situational exigencies with which the society and its members are faced." [1]

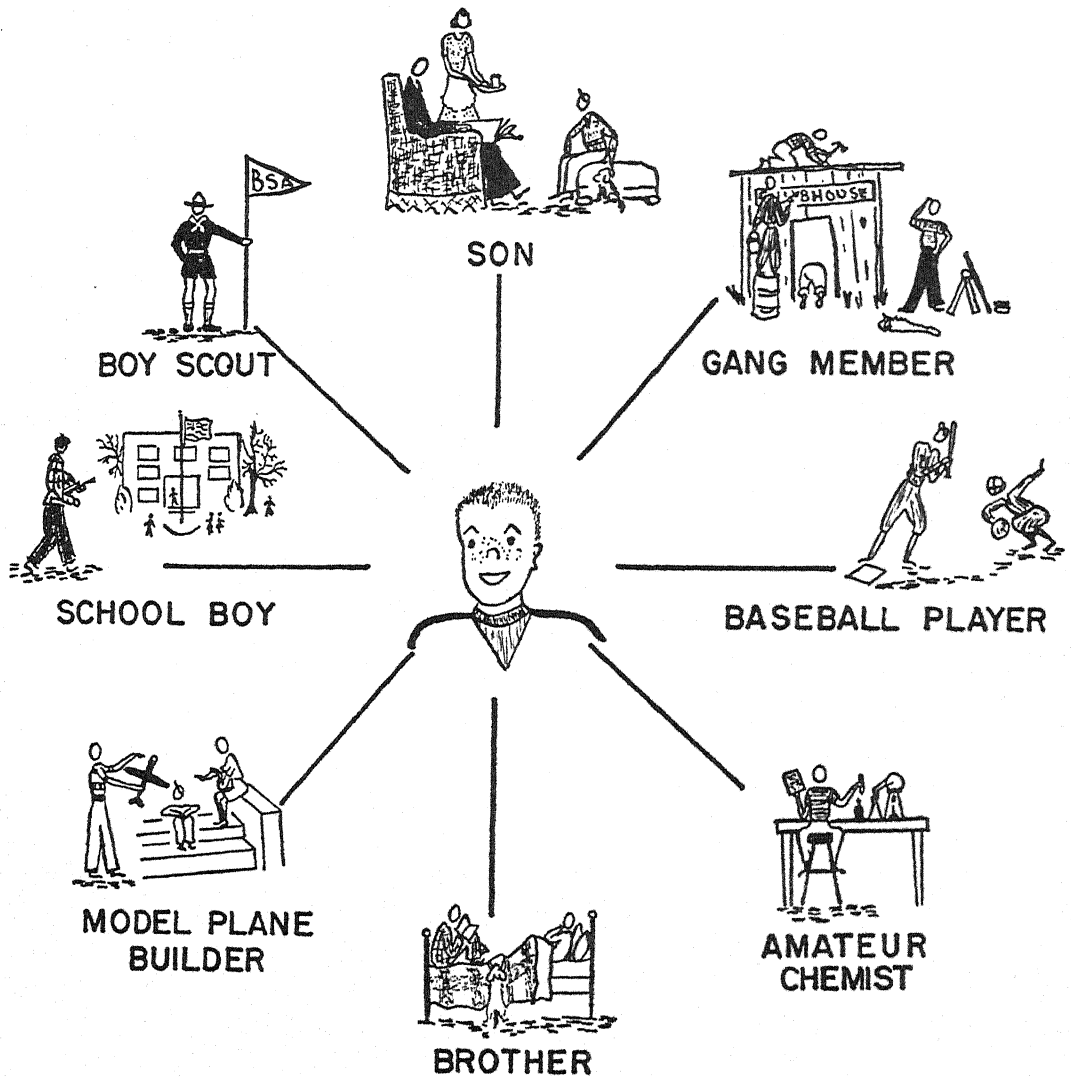
For the division of labor and duties to work, however, each person must be prepared and predisposed to carry out the role expectations which go with each position he will occupy in the course of a lifetime. Thus the members of a society place a great premium upon the adequate interiorization of the role expectations. In turn, because of the great amount of activity assigned to roles, the predispositions to meet the role expectations become a most important part of each member's personality. In Spear Girl, for example, we saw the feelings of frustration and incompleteness until she was able to live up to all the behavior she had come to expect of herself as a "married woman."

Learning social roles

From the viewpoint of personality, then, a major part of the socialization process is the acquisition of "role attitudes"—predispositions to act according to the expected pattern. A good short-stop will have incorporated into his personality the attitudes which predispose him to play the short-stop role in the standardized fashion. In fact, he cannot play the role well unless he has acquired all the necessary attitudes. Nor can a judge play his courtroom role well unless he has acquired the attitudes which predispose him to be devoted to the law, to be impartial, beyond corruption, and, on top of it all, dignified.

We may say, therefore, that the cultural aspect of a social role is a *pattern of expected behaviors* (things people expect the person in the particular status to do) and that the personality aspect is a pattern of *attitudes* (things the status-occupant is set to do). As seen from within, a role is a *pattern or organization of attitudes* predisposing a person in a certain position to act according to the expectations of others.

"Self-roles." Let us watch a child acquire role attitudes. There are, first of all, the self-attitudes which constitute his own roles. The culture, of course, prescribes certain behaviors for children at each age level. The attitudes which enable a child to play this "general role of a child" must be learned from mother and father or other older persons in the household and neighborhood. But within the cultural pattern of a child's role, there is a very great

[1] Talcott Parsons, "Systematic Theory in Sociology," in *Essays in Sociological Theory*, p. 35, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1945. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

The Roles of a Twelve-year-old boy. (Drawn by Maud Walker Keeling)

range of behavior permitted, so that the actual behavior patterns will also reflect the unique expectations of the particular persons close to the child. The term role, moreover, applies also to the patterns of expectations to which six-year-old Tommy was exposed and for the carrying out of which he had learned appropriate attitudes:

. . . In general, my role, both to myself and to the other members of the family, was defined as the middle child, the guardian of little sister, and mother's helper. My duties were to "take care" of sister, and to help mother by running errands, carrying wood and water, and gathering vegetables from the garden.

To mother I was "her fine boy," "one she couldn't do without," "one who saved many steps" for her, "her willing feet." And I played the parts.

To father I was on occasion his "bright boy" who was fast learning to read, his "mother's boy," and just a thing—an impersonality, one of the children, one of "everybody," as in "everybody go to bed now," "everybody run and help," etc.

To brother I played the role of open admirer and willing menial when alone with him; when we were near the parents I of course considered myself as one of the two boys, with equal rights and privileges.

To sister, I was at this time beginning to be "Tommy," or "one who watches me" (if she could have talked).

Thus, I played a large number of roles, all organized into some sort of unity which the family and I knew as "Tommy." [1]

[1] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family*, p. 290, American Book Company, New York, 1945. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

We can see from Tommy's case that "self" can be understood, to a considerable degree (but not completely), as *an organization of roles;* and the growth of self as the incorporating of an increasing number of roles. As a boy like Tommy goes to school and becomes a member of various groups, he will interiorize the additional role patterns of first-grader, second-grader, etc., member of the neighborhood gang, Cub Scout, Boy Scout, camper, stamp-collector, model plane builder, baseball player, amateur astronomer, chemist, photographer, and so on as he moves through the school years. Many roles will change with increasing maturity, and many new roles will be adopted. Eventually, he will play a series of adult roles. At every stage, his personality is an organization of roles.

Roles of others. But a child does not merely incorporate his "self-roles." He, like all members of a society, incorporates the role patterns of many others. That is, he learns the expectations that go with many roles other than those he plays himself. Probably the first roles that he becomes aware of are those of mother and father. Not that he has any role consciousness at first. Mother is just a person who behaves toward him in certain ways. Only as he discovers that there are other women in other families who behave toward children more or less like his own mother behaves toward him—only then does he become aware of the generalized pattern of expectations that, in our culture, goes with the mother role.

By noticing the behavior of others and by hearing what others say about how a person ought to act when he is in a certain position, a child learns about the more common social roles: mother, father, policeman, fireman, milkman, doctor, nurse, storekeeper, filling station operator, teacher, soldier, pilot, etc. The child may have hazy ideas and attitudes about some of them, depending upon his experience. Others, however, will be clear—traffic officer, for example—so that the youngster could step right in and do a fairly respectable job of carrying out the role himself.

Ascribed and achieved roles

If we look at roles with an interest in classification or pigeon-holing, we will see that some roles are inevitable for an individual and that others can be selected by him more or less freely. This distinction has been made by Linton[1] in the concepts of "ascribed" and "achieved" roles.

Ascribed roles are those over which the individual has absolutely no choice. It is established at birth that an individual is male or female, that he belongs to a certain family, or that he is a member of a certain race. If the individual is a female, she must take on the feminine roles prescribed in her culture. There actually is no option although one girl of four, known to the writers, was still debating with herself whether she would decide to grow up to be a boy or a girl. The debate did not continue for long, however; she finally accepted the fact that she was debating an undebatable question. Family or racial membership, if defined by the group as making a difference, also makes certain class or caste roles inevitable. Such roles are ascribed. So are age roles.

The roles about which the person has some choice, however much or little, are *achieved roles.* In our society, this includes all occupational roles. It includes the roles of husband and wife, and of father and mother, for certain decisions are required before an individual achieves the position necessary to the playing of these roles. The degrees of social pressure to play certain roles vary, of course. Family pressures may "push" a son into the same business role played by the father, so that the son feels he has had no choice in the matter. But, theoretically, the choice was there and the occupational role he was pushed into is still an achieved role. We may also observe that there are achieved roles which are closed to certain individuals because of their ascribed roles. A woman cannot become a husband; and at the present stage in American history, a woman is also precluded from achieving the presidency of the United States (not by law but by the mores). Negroes have not been permitted to play certain occupational roles which to other persons are achieved roles.

Each person's many and changing roles

Everyone has many roles at any one period in life, and many more in the course of a lifetime. For, as previously indicated, a person's roles change in the course of growing up. Tommy with his few roles at age six, be-

[1] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 113–131, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936.

The social roles in our society are many and the ones pictured here—patient and nurse, patient and dentist, airline pilot, business executive, policeman—are but a few of the many. With each goes a pattern of expected behavior. (Top left Standard Oil Co. (N. J.). Top right, Coronet. Bottom left, KLM, Royal Dutch Airlines. Others, Ewing Galloway)

comes Tom with a new roster of roles at twelve. His roles continue to change as he moves through high school and the university and finally takes his place in the adult world. Just about the time he has become accustomed to the role of husband, he has to begin playing the role of father. And even though it is a long way off, some day he will probably play the role of father-in-law and then grandfather. In his business or professional life, if he progresses normally, he will play a succession of roles. There will be a variety of changing roles in his social and community life. And then comes the day when he is retired and has to let go of many roles which by this time may have become dear to him. If he has not lived narrowly, he will have enough roles left or may acquire enough new ones to give interesting definition to his activities—as a student of various subjects, as hobbyist, as friend, and as community leader. And if he is lucky enough, he will have the opportunity to enact these roles of his declining years in the sunny comfort of Florida or California or one of the southern tier of states.

The personality function of roles

The societal function of roles, as we have noted, is to achieve a co-ordinated division of labor and generally to order relationships among the members of a society. But what do roles accomplish for the individual member?

Among other things, roles serve the function of enabling group members to understand and to anticipate each other's behavior. Roles represent shared understandings and shared norms or frames of reference.[1] And even

[1] The stranger has trouble participating in a group because he cannot anticipate the behavior of others. This is brought out by A. Schuetz, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 49, pp. 499–507, Jan., 1944.

though roles are carried out somewhat differently and uniquely by individuals, as they usually are, the pattern is still recognizable.

> . . . In spite of our own and other people's idiosyncracies, we are usually able to interpret others' behavior and they ours more or less correctly. Even the most bizarre character—say those in a Dickens novel—scarcely puzzle us at all; we understand them in spite of their oddities provided they take their roles within the role system with which we are familiar. But even the most formally correct behavior of a Chinese Mandarin, or a Bantu chief, would be utterly puzzling to us, because we have no shared norms within which to interpret their behaviors. It is shared norms which permit us to understand individual role taking, in spite of the endless variety of unique forms which it takes.[1]

But the chief personality function of roles is to pattern the person's attitudes so that he can live up to the expectations of others. By "building in" the role expectations, the person not only becomes predisposed to carry out the expected role behavior, but also finds personal satisfaction in doing that which is socially necessary or desirable. What could be more tragic than for a woman to achieve the mother status without having acquired the attitudes which enable her to play the role of mother and find satisfaction in it? Or for a man to acquire a warrior status without the attitudes that make a good warrior? Society cannot have good mothers or good warriors unless the potential occupants of these roles develop *as their own,* the necessary attitudes. And the individual person cannot find personal happiness in life unless he learns the attitudes which enable him to fulfill his role requirements, those which are thrust on him and those which he selects. Without such a meshing of inner attitudes with social expectations, we would all be square pegs in round holes—frustrated and miserable.

Personality and conflicts in the culture

If all the values and expectations of a society were clear-cut and perfectly co-ordinated, and if the socialization process were a perfect success in every case, we might also expect the members to have well-organized, harmonious personalities. But in real societies, such perfection is not found. There are often somewhat contradictory norms. There may be divergent values. And even the roles are seldom sharply defined and precisely co-ordinated. For a society to exist, a certain degree of co-ordination and agreement must be achieved, it is true. But in all societies, more in some than in others, some ambiguities, inconsistencies, and conflicts remain. What are the consequences of such conflicts for personality? We shall consider just a few under role conflict and value conflict.

Role conflict and personality

In the case of roles, a number of difficulties may arise. A person may have to choose between two or more roles (say, in occupational choice) each of which is equally attractive. In a rapidly changing society, a person may find himself in a new status which has no established role—or which has a role with which the person has had no experience. Sometimes even common roles are not well learned. Or a person may decide on a role for one set of reasons (e.g., a certain occupation because of the high income connected with it) and be utterly unprepared attitudinally to meet the work and human relations expectations which go with it. Sometimes a person finds himself in two more or less incompatible positions with incompatible roles (dedicated to a low-paying social service position and being a husband and father in a family with the usual middle class aspirations). But the role conflict on which we wish to linger a moment are the contradictory role behaviors expected of persons in the same position.

Conflicting roles in adolescence. Adolescence is one of the difficult ages not so much because of poor physical coordination as inadequate role definition. Kingsley Davis [1] has pointed out that in American society the adolescent has no specific and clear-cut role of his own. At times his role is defined as that of an adult, and then again, as a child. It is probable that the great attachment of an adolescent to his own age groups and the inordinate power of their opinions in his life (much to the consternation of parents), are due to this lack of a clearly defined role.[2]

[1] Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology,* p. 334, The Dryden Press, New York, 1950. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[1] Kingsley Davis, "Adolescence and the Social Structure," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* vol. 236, pp. 9–16, 1944.

[2] This viewpoint is briefly treated by Newcomb, *op. cit.,* pp. 324–327. Ruth Benedict has pointed out that in our culture childhood and adult roles are quite different with regard to submission and dominance, nonresponsibility and responsibility, and sex roles; and that unlike many cultures, ours provides no transitional bridges. See Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," *Psychiatry,* vol. 1, pp. 161–167, May, 1939.

Confused as to his role by the usual cultural definitions, he and his age-mates create their own roles—roles which are not always well integrated into the total social structure.[1]

Conflicting roles for women. Another contradiction in role expectations is the one which troubles many young women. At the present moment in American history two more or less incompatible role definitions are presented to girls.

> One of these roles may be termed the "feminine" role. While there are a number of permissive variants of the feminine role for women of college age (the "good sport," the "glamour girl," the "young lady," the domestic "home girl," etc.), they have a common core of attributes defining the proper attitudes to men, family, work, love, etc., and a set of personality traits often described with reference to the male sex role as "not as dominant, or aggressive as men" or "more emotional, sympathetic."
>
> The other and more recent role is, in a sense, no *sex* role at all, because it partly obliterates the differentiation in sex. It demands of the woman much the same virtues, patterns of behavior, and attitude that it does of the men of a corresponding age. We shall refer to this as the "modern" role.[2]

With its emphasis upon equality with men, the "modern" role prescribes the same achievements toward which men aspire, the same degree of intellectual development, the same proficiency in all activities.

Since parents so often share the contradictory expectations, the parents can scarcely fail to hold up inconsistent goals. Daughter is to work hard, make good grades, be a campus leader, and prepare to support herself vocationally; at the same time she is to be completely "feminine" so she may be certain of attracting a suitable marriage partner. The confusion and tension which these sometimes conflicting goals produce in college women is brought out by one of them:

> All through high school my family urged me to work hard because they wished me to enter a first-rate college. At the same time they were always raving about a girl school mate who lived next door to us. How pretty and sweet she was, how popular, and what taste in clothes! Couldn't I also pay more attention to my appearance and to social life. They were overlooking the fact that this carefree friend of mine had little time left for schoolwork and had failed several subjects. It seemed that my family had expected me to become Eve Curie and Hedy Lamarr wrapped up in one.[3]

Occupational role conflict. A number of studies have focused on the contradictory expectations facing persons in certain occupational statuses. Many clergymen, for example, are subject to varying definitions of their role even in the average parish and sometimes to extremely contradictory expectations.[4] And military chaplains have a special problem of reconciling "Thou shalt not kill" and universal brotherhood with the military requirements of a nation at war.[5]

One interesting and intensive study was made of public school superintendents in Massachusetts[6] and their perceptions of the opposite ways in which the various segments of their communities expected them to behave. One of the four kinds of role conflict situations studied was the expectation with regard to teacher's salary recommendations. The findings are summarized in Table 6.2. Most saw the teachers, the PTA, and the labor unions as strongly in favor of recommending "the highest salary increases possible" and the taxpayers association, the town finance committee, the politicians as favoring a recommendation of the "lowest possible salary increases." This, of course, was only one example of the built-in conflict in the superintendent's role. The personality conflict is obvious, though certain personalities were able to live with the conflict better than others. The student may wish to read about the various other conflicts and the various ways in which "resolution" of them was attempted.

Adjusting to changing roles. Even the normal changing of roles can become a source of personality conflict. One may become "too set" in one role to shift easily to the next. "Mama's boy" may have trouble becoming "one of the boys." The popular high-school girl may, for a time, feel lonely and lost in

[1] Two readable studies of adolescents are Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1941; Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1949.

[2] Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 52, pp. 184–185, November, 1946. This is a report on a study of 153 college women. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 185. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

[4] See, for example, Bryan R. Wilson, "The Pentacostalist Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 64, pp. 494–504, 1959; Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Racial and Moral Crisis: The Role of Little Rock Ministers," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 64, pp. 509–516, 1959.

[5] See Waldo W. Burchard, "Role Conflicts of Military Chaplains," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 19, pp. 528–535, 1954.

[6] Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1957.

Table 6.2. Percentage of Superintendents Who Perceived Particular Expectations from Specified Groups and Individuals with Respect to Their Salary Recommendations

GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL	A. HIGH SALARY EXPECTATION (PER CENT)	B. LOW SALARY EXPECTATION (PER CENT)	C. MIXED EXPECTATION (PER CENT)	D. NO EXPECTATION (PER CENT)	N *
1. Politicians	14	51	6	29	105
2. Church or religious groups	34	6	3	57	104
3. Farm organizations	12	17	2	69	62
4. Business or commercial organizations	15	34	4	47	105
5. Labor unions	63	2	2	33	53
6. Parents (PTA)	78	1	9	12	105
7. Teachers	99	0	1	0	105
8. Personal friends	57	1	5	37	105
9. Taxpayer's association	9	77	4	11	64
10. Individuals influential for economic reasons	11	45	7	37	105
11. Service clubs	35	7	7	50	87
12. Fraternal organizations	19	3	3	74	93
13. Veterans' organizations	27	5	4	64	104
14. Individual school-committee members	70	14	14	2	105
15. Town finance committee or city council	18	60	11	10	103
16. My wife, family	71	0	0	29	103
17. Chamber of commerce	20	27	7	47	65
18. The Press	28	25	2	45	88

* When N is less than 105 it is usually because the group or individual did not exist in a number of communities; the "no answers" when the group or individual did exist are also excluded. Reprinted by permission from Gross, Mason, and McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role*, 1957, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

university life. The "belle of the ball" may find it difficult to fit into the mother role. The "football hero" finds it hard to be almost a "nobody" at the bottom of the business ladder. The young married couple may center their interest in each other so exclusively that parenthood becomes a painful revolution. A happy mother may hang on to her children because she cannot feature a role without children in the house. A man whose life has been centered too exclusively in his work finds the retirement role utterly empty. The woman who has been a happy wife and mother may not be able to adjust, in her older years, to the very common role of widowhood.

In addition to the normal shifting of roles in the course of growing up, there are the additional shifts that many persons experience because of residence changes. Working one's way into satisfying roles in a new community is an accomplishment which many persons find difficult. Even children, adaptable as they seem to be, have tensions created by such changes, and several changes can produce real insecurity.[1]

Value conflict

Cultural incongruities can also be seen apart from roles, although roles are, of course, also affected by them. Many of the contradictory expectations are rooted in our values and basic assumptions. Even though some degree of value conflict is to be found in all societies, it is more pronounced in such large and rapidly changing societies as ours.

Some years ago, Karen Horney called attention to the neurotic consequences for individual personality of some of the major conflicts in our society. There is the conflict, for example, between the value of personal success through competition and the Judaic-Christian ideals of "love thy neighbor."[2] Lynd set up the conflict in terms of the contradictory assumptions:

> Individualism, "survival of the fittest," is the law of nature and the secret of America's greatness; and restrictions on individual freedom are un-American and kill initiative. *But:* No man should live for himself alone; for people ought to be loyal and stand together and work for common purposes.[3]

A more recent attempt to characterize the "major" value-orientations in American culture has been made by Robin M. Williams.[4]

[1] James S. Plant, *Personality and the Culture Pattern*, p. 107, Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1937.

[2] Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 288, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1937.

[3] Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge of What?*, p. 60, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1939. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[4] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, pp. 388–438, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1951.

Recognizing the great diversity in America and its many subgroups, he nevertheless felt that the following dominant value *tendencies* were to be found in American culture: Personal achievement and success, activity and work, a moral orientation toward conduct, humanitarian mores, efficiency and practicality, belief in progress, values placed upon material comfort, equality, freedom, external conformity, science and secular rationality, nationalism-patriotism, democracy, and individual personality.

To the extent that these values are important American values, they tend to become important values in the individual personality, depending, of course, upon the particular values held by those closest to him in the course of socialization. But even at this general level, contradictions in values are to be seen. There is the conflict, previously noted by Karen Horney, between personal success and humanitarian mores. There is a conflict between the moral orientation and the values of efficiency and practicality. Work can bring comfort but also deny the time to enjoy it. External conformity can threaten freedom and individualism.

We tend to feel these conflicts within our own personalities, but these feelings and attitudes are but a reflection of the culture in which we live. In varying degrees, most of us are caught between the alternatives of . . .

> . . . saving and spending; between playing safe and "nothing ventured, nothing gained"; between "you've got to look like money in order to make money" and spending your money for things you really want; between things that are "right in theory" and "wrong in practice"; between change and stability; between being loyal and "looking out for Number One"; between being efficient and being human; between being democratic and "getting to know the right people." [1]

Few of us can escape these contradictory expectations, although some persons do a better job of reconciling them than others.

Goals and means. Karen Horney, in *The Neurotic Personality of Our Times,* also discussed another basic source of personality difficulty. It is the discrepancy between the desires aroused by advertising and the ideal of "keeping up with the Joneses," on the one hand, and on the other, the limited chances for satisfying these desires.

If a society sets up *goals* toward which individuals are expected to work and then does not allow most of its members the *means* for achieving the goals, important consequences for personality follow.

Merton, for example, has discussed the "monetary success" theme in a society whose social structure provides unequal life chances for such success.

> The cultural theme . . . holds that monetary success is possible for all, irrespective of station, as long as a man has the requisite qualities, and that striving for success is incumbent on all. . . .
>
> This leads naturally to the subsidiary theme that success or failure are results wholly of personal qualities; that he who fails has only himself to blame, for the corollary to the concept of the self-made man is the self-unmade man. To the extent that this cultural definition is assimilated by those who have not made their mark, failure represents a double defeat: the manifest defeat of remaining far behind in the race for success and the implicit defeat of not having the capacities and moral stamina needed for success. Whatever the objective truth or falsity of the doctrine in any particular instance, and it is important to note that this cannot be readily discovered, the prevailing definition exacts a psychic toll of those who do not measure up. . . .[1]

This particular goals-means discrepancy is managed in a variety of ways. Goals may be pulled in to conform more realistically to the means available to the person or the group of persons. Other values may be given priority. Some are in a position to find expanded means through extra effort (wife also works or the husband takes on work in addition to his regular job). But, as Merton notes, the response of some is to attain the monetary "success" by illegitimate means. Much delinquent and criminal behavior (theft of one form or another) is a function (positive or negative, depending upon the reference point) of a social structure providing limited means for attaining the goals which are highly valued.

As we shall see later, many of the institutional readjustments of our society are attempts to provide more adequate means for achieving the goals set up by the society's fundamental values. Our point at the moment is simply to call attention to the consequences for personality of a discrepancy between values and means. Culture in both its harmonies and its conflicts has an enormous impact upon the individual.

[1] Lynd, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Reprinted with permission.

[1] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, pp. 168, 169, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

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Chapter 7

Personality Development

The Identical Twins

Mildred and Ruth are so-called "identical" twins whose mother died when they were three months old and who were immediately adopted by two different families of relatives. Mildred became the foster daughter of a banker who was also the mayor of a small city. He was a well-educated man whose home was an intellectual center for a group of interesting people. Mildred participated in all the stimulating activities of this home. She read widely from the well-chosen library. She studied music and played the violin in the high school orchestra. These interests, moreover, were matched by an abundance of play and social activities outside of the home.

Ruth, on the other hand, became the foster daughter of a foreman of laborers, a man of little education who lived in a fairly large city. The foster mother's education was also limited. Furthermore, she disapproved of Ruth's normal associates and kept her closely confined to her home where there were few books, no good music, and no intellectual activities. For a short time she was given music lessons but she did not become proficient in that field.

Up to the age of 15 when these two girls were given extensive examinations, their physical environments and their health records had been about the same. Mildred's birth weight had been 6 and Ruth's only 3½ pounds, but at 15, their respective weights were almost equal. Their personalities, however, were vastly different. Mildred was a confident girl, expansive, talkative, without a lisp, and happy in facial expression. Ruth, on the other hand, showed an inhibited personality, shy, diffident, silent, with lisping speech and an unhappy expression. Mentally, there was also a striking difference. Despite the fact that their formal educational opportunities had been about the same, Mildred had an IQ score on two different tests that was 15 points higher than Ruth's.

"The Identical Twins" is adapted from Horatio H. Newman, Frank N. Freeman, and Karl L. Holzinger, *Twins: A Study of Heredity and Environment*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, copyright (1937) by the University of Chicago; and Horatio H. Newman, *Multiple Human Births*, copyright 1940 by Horatio Hackett Newman. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday and Company, Inc.

* * *

What does this case suggest about the role of hereditary and environmental factors in personality development?

In the next case, the focus is on the variety of environmental factors.

* * *

The Brothers

Don and Carl Elno live with their parents and five brothers and sisters in four rooms of a Chicago tenement. . . . Its backyard runs up to the Illinois Central Railroad tracks.

Jim (the father) quit school in the fifth grade, . . . but learned the machinist trade at sixteen and did well at it. For a time after his marriage to Pearl, he worked hard, and strove for a better position. But as Pearl bore child after child and the burden of supporting his family grew heavier, Jim gradually became an alcoholic, like his father.

When she had married Jim, Pearl had been a warm-spirited girl, with the gift of humor. . . . At first she expected great things, because Jim was a machinist, a hard worker, and a handsome man. But the babies wore her down, and her husband failed her. Pearl grew accustomed to a life of drudgery, of endless housework, of child-bearing, and of jobs in restaurants or factories. But she never lost her nerve; the spark of humor in her eyes never died. . . .

Don (age twelve) and Carl (age ten) differ in appearance, character, and personality. Don is a slim youngster, with a turned-up nose and a mop

"The Brothers" is adapted from W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man*, pp. 179–186, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1947. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

of curly brown hair. He looks clean, cheerful, and mischievous. He is friendly toward everybody, and especially so toward adults. He likes attention and plays up to people, especially women. . . . All his teachers like him, even though he drives them to exasperation. Unlike Carl, he is generous. Whatever he has—candy, pencils he has stolen from the dime store, money—he will gladly share.

In short, Don is a likable boy, with a warm personality, and his mother's sense of humor. He is easy-going, makes no severe demands on himself, and enjoys life like a young puppy. He fits into whatever social group, young or old, he finds. He has no scruples or principles for which he will sacrifice the esteem of his crowd. Since he lives in a demoralized neighborhood, he is learning to be a delinquent. He is already a shoplifter and a truant. He lacks the moral backbone to stick up for his family's moral standards. . . .

Carl, on the other hand, bears the weight of his ten years as though they were forty. He has a sober (and sometimes sour) look, and his feelings are easily hurt. He often says that he is not appreciated, that he has to work too hard and never has a good time. . . .

. . . Carl is the responsible member of the family. He is thrifty and industrious, saving his money while Don spends his. . . . He is already plaguing his mother for permission to take a job so that he can buy an insurance policy for himself. When his mother must be away, he is chosen to stay home from school and look after the younger children. When someone is needed to run errands, Carl usually gets the call. His parents say, "Carl is the hustler in the family.". . .

Carl is a quite good student in school, where he has already caught up with Don. He sticks to business in the classroom, while Don fools around. Carl does his homework regularly, but Don never bothers.

* * *

What differences in early interpersonal relationships could account for such a contrast in personalities?

* * *

Don, the oldest child, has been babied by his mother all his life. She has unconsciously favored him over Carl and the other children. When first married, she wanted a baby, and she loved Don intensely. (She did not want Carl.) Furthermore, Don spent most of his first three years in the home of his paternal grandmother; both she and two doting aunts competed with his mother to coddle him. Restraint and punishment were at a minimum in his early life. To Don, his mother was a permissive, loving person, with very little punishment or warning in her voice.

Don's father, likewise, punished him very little when he was a baby. Later . . . the father's discipline was erratic. . . .

All in all, Don has grown up in an atmosphere of inconsistent discipline. As he said when he was eleven, *"I don't really know what's bad till I do it."*

Carl's birth, as stated before, was not wanted by his mother. Nevertheless, she was such a responsible woman, that she gave him a great deal of affection. Shortly after Carl's birth, his mother separated from his father. Carl, therefore, was taken out of his paternal grandmother's home where the two aunts and grandmother had given Don unlimited affection. His mother took him to *her mother's* home. Although she wanted to get a divorce, she discovered she was pregnant again, and had to give up the idea. She stayed on with her mother to have the third baby.

This period, when his mother was unhappy and tense, coincided with Carl's toilet training. Both his mother and his grandmother tried to teach him to use the pot, but Carl continued to soil himself. One day, when his mother was up and around again after the birth of her third child, Carl tried her patience once too often. She punished him harshly. Coming at a time when his mother must have seemed to be *transferring her love from him to his baby sister,* this harsh punishment probably *stamped in his mind the image of his mother as a punisher.*

Yet he loved her, as only a powerless child can love, and she was often affectionate to him. Indeed, Carl seems to have formed a very deep identification with his mother, *which included also her punishing attitude toward him.* Therefore, he has a much more severe conscience than Don. To Don, his mother has always been a permissive person, a person who will help him to hide his wrongdoing. Hence, by taking this voice into himself, he has laid the foundation for a weak conscience.

Neither brother can be said to have had a really good set of emotional relationships in the home. Carl has developed a strong conscience out of these relationships, but these same relationships have made him unhappy, quarrelsome, and jealous. He will not be a happy man, al-

The child meets his cultural and subcultural environment through specific persons, beginning with family members. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

though he may become a respected citizen. Don, on the other hand, has received all the love and attention he wanted, *without having to learn self-control.* He will grow up the darling of women, with a pleasing lower-class personality, but no inner strength to resist the delinquent pressure of his environment. Finally, both boys are growing up under one tragic hardship. They lack a constructive emotional relationship with their father.

Meeting the social environment

The social environment consists of persons

We are continuing to look at the factors in the social environment that are significant in the development of personality—that make an individual a person. Up to the present, we have stressed culture as the most important aspect of the social environment. And culture *is* important! How else can we account for the personality differences between the Arunta, the Hopi, the Kiowa, the contemporary Chinese, or Americans? Their cultures make the differences. This is so obvious that we find ourselves rather easily saying that "culture makes us the way we are"—that we are the "products" of the culture in which we have been reared.

Now all of this sounds good. But we will get ourselves hopelessly confused, in analyzing the development of personality, if we forget that this way of speaking is only a figurative one. In actuality, culture cannot "do" anything to us. Culture—as we have indicated—is really an abstraction. It consists of the shared ways of thinking and doing which have been learned by the members of a group. Culture is abstracted from the behavior of *persons;* and it is only from other *persons* that culture can be learned. This is an important point: The only *concrete* realities of our social environment are other persons.

We learn culture from persons

The acquisition of culture is a learning process that goes on between persons. The child learns from his mother, father, and other persons in his environment. He learns the ideas, attitudes, and values which have been "built" into *their* personalities as the result of a similar process of learning from others in their group. From the first "da-da" on, the verbal symbols that make up language are learned from other persons. The process goes on informally or formally, with little or much attention, but always it is a process that goes on between persons. Listen to the four-year-old girl adding group-shared symbols to her vocabulary.

> "What is a Merry Christmas?" When told the meaning (by her mother) she said: "I am going to say Merry Christmas to Benny." . . . [Later] "Mother, what is in the meantime?" When told, she said, "Oh," which really meant that it was not clearly understood and would probably be asked again, and it was. This time, it became an object of her world, as I heard her say to her doll, "I'm going to play with Benny; in the meantime you can stay here by the fireplace." [1]

Or listen to the same girl learning more about the culture objects, shared knowledge and attitudes of her group as she converses with her father while he is shaving. Let us listen in to her side of the dialogue:

> "Why do you sharpen your razor? Does Mr. Brown have a razor like yours? Do all men have a razor like yours? Does Mr. Brown sharpen his razor? Girls don't shave, do they? Does Benny shave? Little boys don't shave, do they? Why do you have to shave? Does it hurt when you shave? How big will Paul be when he has to shave? Why do you use soap? I like you better after you have shaved. Is that why you shave? Papa dolls don't shave do they? Dolls aren't real people are they? Nothing but men shave do they?" [2]

[1] L. G. Brown, "The Development of Behavior Among Children in the Same Family," *The Family*, vol. 9, pp. 37, 38, April, 1928. Reprinted by permission.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38. Reprinted by permission.

We also have unique experiences with persons

To emphasize that the acquisition of culture is really the consequence of such interaction between persons might not be quite so important were only group-shared ways involved. But not all the attitudes of the little girl's father are held by other fathers in his community. True, the other fathers would give many of the same answers, but not all the answers would be the same. Nor would they be given in the same way. Not all fathers would have the same attitudes toward their little girls. Some fathers enjoy their little daughters. Others are too preoccupied to pay much attention. Some fathers think little girls are wonderful; others think they are poor substitutes for boys. The point is that the interaction between persons communicates more than culture. Some of the ideas and attitudes of each father or mother are primarily the result of individual rather than group-shared experiences—the result, to a large extent, of experiences that are *unique* or peculiar to the individual. We could list such factors as hereditary uniqueness, accidents, the unique sequence or coincidence of events, differential opportunities not typical of the culture or subculture, and the unique personalities of the persons with whom the person has interacted, especially in the family during childhood.

And, as important as the shared ways are, these more or less uniquely derived slants and attitudes also play a profoundly significant role in personality development.[1]

The cases of Don and Carl illustrate what we are getting at. We can distinguish the cultural aspects. In general, the family culture of the Elnos can be described as "Midwestern-urban-lower-class." We can also identify the social roles which Mr. and Mrs. Elno play as father, mother, machinist, etc. If we were looking at the cultural factors closely, we would, of course, have to go into much greater detail concerning the role expectations and the attitudes which Mr. and Mrs. Elno gained by virtue of their past group memberships. We would also need to point out the "delinquent culture" in their present neighborhood.

But pointing out all the broad cultural factors that came to play upon Don and Carl does not account for their utterly different personalities. We have to look at the many intimate factors which made the experiences of the two boys so divergent. Most important was the fact that the mother felt differently toward Don than toward Carl and that she treated them differently. Each boy saw himself differently in the eyes of his mother, in the eyes of his grandmothers and aunts, and in the eyes of his father. The difference in the reflected appraisals was affected by the change in the father's work situation, and the mother's consequent separation, tensions, and anxieties. The coincidence of the mother's crisis with Carl's toilet training period seems to be an important factor.[3] The third pregnancy changed the whole future of the family. It kept Mrs. Elno from breaking with her husband for good. This led to four more children, aggravating the father's loss of hope and consequent drinking, aggravating the mother's economic burden, intensifying her emotional load, and forcing the family to live in a depressing, crowded apartment in the midst of a broken-down neighborhood. These are only a few of the many intertwining factors that came to bear so uniquely upon Don and Carl—that gave each a *unique life history.*

> **EVERY MAN**
> **IS IN CERTAIN RESPECTS**
> (a) like all other men
> (b) like some other men
> (c) like no other man.[2]

The cultural and unique in the same learning experiences

For all our distinction between the cultural and the unique, they are, for the most part, not learned separately. In the day-by-day interaction between the child and his parents (or others), he learns about the cultural ways of his group, it is true, but what he observes is

[1] No one term is universally used among sociologists and psychologists to refer to the unique aspects of interpersonal experience. Other currently used synonyms of *unique* are *personal-social, idiosyncratic, idiomatic,* and *private.* For an influential treatment of unique experiences, see L. G. Brown, *Social Pathology,* pp. 70–78, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1942.

[2] Kluckhohn, Murray, and Schneider, editors, *Personality: In Nature, Society, and Culture,* second edition, p. 53, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1953.

[3] The weaning and toilet-training periods are crucial in the emotional life of an infant, according to students of infant development. This is the case chiefly because the child-mother relationships can so easily be stressful during these periods.

a more or less unique version, reflecting somewhat unique personal ideas and attitudes. Again let us observe the actual learning process:

> Father and Bill go to the movies. During the program some children nearby are noisy. Father expresses himself about the children, their parents, and the management. Afterwards, father and Bill talk about the plot, actors, girls, Hollywood, Louella Parsons, newspaper columnists, and the nearby parking facilities. Ostensibly father and Bill have gone to the movies; actually, Bill has been exposed to an interpretation of a dozen phases of contemporary life.[1]

Bossard commented on the above illustration:

> Growing up is like that. The child contacts the outside world, i.e., those phases to which the family members have access and which they select, and he "sees" them through the eyes of the parents. Here is a simple process, but its importance is very great, and the ways in which members of the family serve the child in this respect differ greatly. [They refract, distort or give a unique interpretation of the idea, event, value, etc.] Some family members refract but slightly, describing clearly, transmitting fairly, and evaluate judiciously. . . . others are biased in their interpretations and highly inept in their teaching. . . .[2]

This is the way in which both the cultural and the unique come through in the same learning experiences.

Original nature

We have examined the role of culture and unique learning experiences in the development of personality. To round out the theoretical perspective, however, we need to recognize the role of heredity. Each person begins the personality developing process with a set of hereditary potentials received from a long line of ancestors, and these potentials may vary considerably among individuals.

Original nature is the term sociologists have generally applied to the hereditary potentials. Original nature includes the potentialities which manifest themselves after birth through *maturation,* such as the growth of teeth and the further growth of bones, muscles, and nerves. Because environmental influences are operative from conception on and play an increasingly influential role after birth, the hereditary and environmental influences are difficult to unscramble. Yet, we have sufficient evidence that hereditary endowments differ from individual to individual in such factors, among others, as body build, energy output, metabolic functioning, temperament, and capacities. It is easy to see that differences in native intelligence (the inherited learning potential) can play an important role in the development of personality differences.

In the case of the identical twins, Mildred and Ruth, the hereditary potential is assumed to have been the same. This is what makes the study of identical twins reared apart so important in distinguishing environmental from hereditary influences. The hereditary factor is presumably held constant so that the differences in I.Q. scores (not native intelligence) and other aspects of the personalities of the two girls are clearly attributable to the cultural and unique factors in their respective social environments.

In the case of Don and Carl Elno, however, we have no information on the original nature differences between the two boys. But we dare not assume that differences in their inherited potentials did not make a difference in their personality development. Group and interpersonal factors can go a long way in explaining personality differences, and it is the business of sociologists to concentrate on these. But the sociological approach, like that of other disciplines, is admittedly incomplete. A complete perspective on the development of personality must include the role of original nature and of original nature differences.

Understanding the process by which the self develops

What is "self"?

"By self is meant that which is designated in common speech by 'I,' 'me,' and 'myself.' "[3] That sounds simple enough, but a little thought will show that the concept is rather difficult to pin down. It does not refer to any clear-cut entity such as one's body. Perhaps the jocular phrase, "I get along with myself pretty well," brings out some of the reflexive character of the concept. Or we say, "I know myself to be of such and such a type." These statements suggest that the *self is "the individual as known to the individual."*[4] This means that there is a difficult-to-grasp distinc-

[1] James H. S. Bossard, *Parent and Child,* p. 58, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1953. Reprinted by permission.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 58. Reprinted by permission.

[3] Charles H. Cooley, Robert C. Angell, and Lowell J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology,* p. 117, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933.

[4] Gardner Murphy, *Personality,* p. 996, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947.

tion between the "knower" and the "self as known." (Hang on, now!) No matter what a person "is," his "self" is what he consciously and unconsciously conceives himself to be. And this is basically a matter of his self-regarding attitudes—self-attitudes. A person's self, we may therefore say, is his "self-concept"—the sum total of his perceptions of himself and, especially, his attitudes toward himself.

The infant has no "self." When we say that the infant has no self we mean that he, at first, does not perceive himself as separate from his environment and that he has no attitudes toward himself. It takes some time before the infant can distinguish between the parts of his body and other objects. It may happen that:

> Each hand wandering over the bedspread for things which can be brought into the mouth discovers the other hand and each triumphantly lifts the other into the mouth; he (the baby) draws his thumb from his mouth to wave it at a stranger, then cries because the thumb has gone away. He pulls at his toes until they hurt and does not know what is wrong.[1]

One observer requested of his nineteen-month-old son: "Give me your foot." The boy grabbed his foot with both hands and tried to take it off like a shoe.[2]

Eventually, the baby learns to differentiate between the visible and touchable things that are a part of his body and those that are not. But this distinction has to be learned, and it takes some time.

As for attitudes toward himself, these are also nonexistent at first. He may early develop an attitude toward some parts of his body—that his toes are interesting to play with, or that his thumb is comforting to suck. But attitudes toward himself as a self develop only as he learns to become aware of himself as a person.

Self is a social product. To distinguish oneself as a person requires a certain amount of experience with other persons. Just as the child must become conscious of other physical objects before he can become conscious of his own physical being, so he must become aware of other "selves" before he can become aware of himself as "self."

Even though there were earlier proponents of the "social self" idea,[3] Charles H. Cooley is the sociologist who did the most to establish the concept among sociologists. Observing his own children, he concluded that the very idea of self—of "I"—can arise only in a relationship with other people.

> . . . "I" is social in that the very essence of it is the assertion of self-will in a social medium of which the speaker is conscious.
>
> A sympathetic study of the early use of the word will, I think, make this quite plain. "I" is addressed to an audience—usually with some emphasis—and its purpose is to impress upon that audience the power ("I make go"), the wish ("I go play sand-pile"), and claim ("my mama"), the service ("I get it for you") of the speaker. Its use in solitude would be inconceivable (though the audience may, of course, be imaginary). To put it otherwise, "I" is a differentiation in a vague body of personal ideas which is either self-consciousness or social-consciousness, as you please to look at it.[4]

Not until the individual experiences other "selves" and becomes conscious that they have attitudes toward him can the individual's idea of self have any concrete meaning. Since language is the chief medium by which attitudes can be communicated the development of self must necessarily remain extremely limited until the child acquires a language.[5]

The looking-glass process

According to Cooley, self-ideas or self-attitudes develop by a process of imagining what others think of us—by a kind of looking-glass process.

> A self-idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements:
> 1) the imagination of our appearance to the other person;
> 2) the imagination of his judgment of that [imagined] appearance;
> 3) and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification.
>
> The comparison with a looking glass hardly suggests the second element, the imagined judgment, which is quite essential. The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but the imagined effect of this reflection

1 Gardner and Lois B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, revised edition, p. 207, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1937. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

2 William Preyer, *The Mind of the Child*, vol. 2, p. 190, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1909.

3 William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1890; J. Mark Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1895.

4 Charles H. Cooley, "A Study of the Early Use of Self-Words by a Child," *Psychological Review*, vol. 15, pp. 339–357, Nov., 1908. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, American Psychological Association, Inc. A corroborative study is reported by Read Bain, "The Self and Other Words of a Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 41, pp. 767–776, May, 1936.

5 For a thoroughgoing treatment of language in personality development, *see* A. R. Lindesmith and A. L. Strauss, *Social Psychology*, pp. 2–131, Dryden Press, New York, 1949.

upon another's mind. This is evident from the fact that the character and weight of that other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference with our feeling. We are ashamed to seem evasive in the presence of a straightforward man, cowardly in the presence of a brave one, gross in the eyes of a refined one, and so on. We always will boast to one person of an action—say some sharp transaction in trade—which we would be ashamed to own to another.[1]

Jimmy and the jam jar. Perhaps what Cooley meant can be made clear by a very simple illustration. Here is little Jimmy who has learned to crawl well enough to "get into everything." One day Jimmy gets into the pantry or kitchen and discovers the jam jar. It doesn't take long for him to get some of it into his mouth—which, of course, can't be done without getting it all over his hands, face, clothes, and probably the floor. Naturally, Jimmy is highly pleased with himself. Then, his mother appears at the door. How does Jimmy feel and what does he do? Well, in general, past experience with his mother makes him feel that she is pleased with whatever pleases him. In terms of the looking-glass process, he imagines that he appears to his mother as a very happy boy; and he imagines that she will be pleased that he is so happy. As a result, he feels exuberant, waves his arms and gurgles with glee. But Jimmy's mother views the situation differently (to say the least!). In some way or other she will impress upon him that the jam jar is a "No-no" object which must be left alone.

But Jimmy is not sufficiently impressed. Another day he repeats the same performance—and is again caught in the act by his mother. Now, how does Jimmy feel and how does he act? He imagines that Mommie is not quite pleased with what she sees. Yet, his many happy experiences with her make him feel that she is usually pleased when he is so happy. And there he sits, both feelings finding their way into a mixed expression of guilt and hope, rather beautifully blended on his baby face. Again, the "No-no."

Nevertheless, Jimmy gets into the kitchen again and the memory of the delicious jam overcomes all previous "No-no" training. And there he is in the middle of the jam when, as usual, Mommie arrives on the scene. There is not much question in his mind now as to what his Mommie thinks of him. His imagination reflects back (and accurately) an attitude of decided disapproval on her part. He definitely feels guilty, and behaves accordingly. His facial expression has guilt written all over it. Perhaps he tries to hide his guilty hands behind him, unmindful of all the evidence still on his face. We may assume that this third jam jar experience with mother is enough to make Jimmy stay out of the jam in the future.

Now this is the way by which an attitude ("a child must not get into the jam") which originally existed in the mother, not in Jimmy, finally came to exist in Jimmy as an attitude toward himself ("Jimmy must not get into the jam"). It is clear that Jimmy didn't create this attitude himself; he got it from his mother. And in that sense his attitude can be said to be a "reflection" of his mother's attitude. *It was Cooley's view that all of our self-attitudes are the imaginatively reflected products of such interactional experiences with the other persons round about us. They are the product of literally millions of such little looking-glass experiences.*

"Taking the role of the other"

Another way of describing the basic interactional process by which we acquire our self-attitudes has also taken root among sociologists. Formulated by the social psychologist, George Herbert Mead,[2] it is boiled down in the phrase, "taking the role of the other." It is essentially the same idea as Cooley's looking-glass process. When we take the role of the other, we imaginatively step into the other person's shoes and look at ourselves through his eyes. It is by looking at ourselves through the eyes (attitudes) of others that we acquire attitudes toward ourselves.

"Self" comes into being and develops, Mead says, through "taking the role of the other," first with one's parents and other important persons in our homes, and then gradually with an increasing number of other persons—playmates, teachers, friends, and others. That Mead had reference to the same process that Cooley had in mind is indicated by the expression which he often used as synonymous with "taking the role of the

[1] Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 152–153, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1902. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[2] George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, pp. 135–226, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934. *See also* Ellsworth Faris, "The Social Psychology of George Mead," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 43, pp. 391–403, Nov., 1937.

other," namely "taking the attitude of the other." "Role-taking" means " 'taking' over into oneself the other's attitude, point of view, . . ." [1] toward oneself.

Role-*taking*, as Mead used the term, is not to be confused with role-*playing*. Role-playing is now used in many ways but Mead used it to refer only to role-enacting, i.e., the real-life performing of role expectations.

Mead used another term, *"playing-at* a role." The term refers almost exclusively to the dramatic play of children.

> It refers to the activity in which a child pretends he is, say, a milkman, and in which he thinks, talks and performs *like* one. The child cannot *play* (actually enact) this role, since he cannot occupy the appropriate position, but he can play at it, thus learning both role-taking and role-playing. "Playing-at" thus involves both the "playing" and "taking" concepts in a make-believe, playful, fictitious, or fantasy form.[2]

"Playing-at roles" also facilitates the process of acquiring a self. Little Gertrude, aged four, is playing-at being mother to her doll. Gertrude gives her dolly supper and puts it to bed with a routine of the tucking-in, prayer-saying, and "good-nighting" with which Gertrude is all too familiar. The doll naturally does not like all the food that is set before it and has to be coaxed and cajoled by Gertrude to "eat it all up." The doll does not want to go to bed either, and stern discipline is necessary —which Gertrude, playing-at the role of mother, supplies. But, of course, the doll cannot have or express all these aversions to its "mother's" wishes. Gertrude has to play-at the role of the doll as well as that of the mother—first she is doll and then mother and then doll again. Since to all intents and purposes the doll exhibits Gertrude's own reactions to her own supping and going-to-bed experience, her playing-at being mother has helped to objectify her own attitudes. By thus imaginatively becoming an object to herself, she helps to develop her attitudes toward herself.

Self-other attitudes

The preceding discussion has described the imaginative looking-glass or role-taking process by which our self-attitudes are acquired *from others.*

Not only are other persons the source of our self-attitudes, but our self-attitudes have a constant reference to other persons in *present* situations. We could say, figuratively, that the looking-glass has been "conditioned" so that we will, in present situations, see ourselves in the eyes of others *in certain ways*. That is why we speak of "self-other" (or "me-you") attitudes. Every me-attitude is at the same time a you-attitude. If I have attitudes of inferiority in certain situations, I feel that *you* or other *you's* will judge my anticipated performance to be inferior. Without the you-attitude in the picture there could be no me-attitude. The me-attitude that I'm a good tennis player automatically implies the attitude that you (or other competent-to-judge you's) will rate my playing as good.

But let us go back to some of the interpersonal (also me-you) experiences by which present me-you attitudes are acquired. The following extract from a young college woman's autobiography helps us to "visualize" the process:

> When I was about four years old, my mother's father and mother came to live with us. My grandfather was very ill and died a few years later, and my grandmother remained in the home. She was too good to my sister and myself. She took over, as work she liked to do, the cooking and sewing. She never let my sister or myself help her in any way . . . ; she would do anything for us, and we came more and more to rely on her, and gradually we began to expect her to do things for us which we were perfectly capable of doing ourselves.

Here we see the self-attitudes of the sisters being learned from grandmother (as the "other") in literally thousands of interpersonal experiences. Again and again, grandmother reflected back the attitude that the sisters were persons who did not need to do the things around the house which children normally learn to do. Gradually, the you-attitudes of grandmother became the me-attitudes of the girls—deeply established in their personalities.

Now comes the question: Will the self-attitudes, acquired from grandmother, color or distort the looking glass so that the girls will imagine that persons other than grandmother will also expect them to behave in the same way? Let us continue with the same autobiography:

> We came to expect other people to do more for us than they are willing to do. I have come to realize that not everyone will do things for me, but even

[1] Walter Coutu, "Role-playing vs. Role-taking: An Appeal for Clarification," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 16, pp. 180-187, April, 1951.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 181. Reprinted by permission.

now, I find myself expecting to be waited on by individuals, expecting to receive more than I give. It requires double the effort for me to volunteer my services and to help anyone, and in certain situations, similar to the ones at home, it would not even occur to me to help, though being conscious of the fault helps to overcome it. I found when I visited my cousin, that for a while it did not even occur to me to help clear the supper dishes, till suddenly I realized it was not my right to receive such service from her. Sometimes at school I find myself letting the girls do for me what I would hesitate to do for them.

We see that the attitudes gained from the relationship with grandmother did carry over and are still (although to a lesser extent) operative as me-you attitudes in present situations.

Every self-attitude has a reference to the "other" or "others" in our past experiences. And every self-attitude, so acquired, has as its counterpart an attitude toward the "other" or "others" in present situations. *Self-attitudes are always self-other attitudes.*

Influence of the family on self-other attitudes

Childhood interpersonal experiences with the other members of our family are, of course, the source of most of our self-attitudes.

In the following autobiographical fragment, we see illustrated the continuing self-other attitudes derived from the mother's unfortunate expression of attitudes toward her daughter:

I was quiet and reserved, particularly when not in an environment to my liking—my mother's company and friends was one of the latter. She has always introduced me to people with what appears to me to be a kind of apology, saying, "This is my Joan, she's kind of quiet, a serious kid." Such an introduction always sent me into my shell, and I became exactly as she had explained. Worse yet, my sister got this sort of push, "This is my Carol, she's such a ray of sunshine." At this my sister would immediately beam. I simply hated these introductions. I was beaten before I started. On account of them I have always been at loss with my mother's friends. . . . Little wonder it is if friends of the family and relations regard me as a sort of monstrosity, as backward, dull, and uninteresting.

In social situations outside the family and kinship group, this girl apparently had acquired a different set of self-other attitudes; but with relatives and her mother's friends, the described me-you attitudes prevailed. That is to say, her "taking the attitude of the other" was in accordance with her earlier experiences of "taking the attitude" of her mother. Or, one could say that the looking glass was so colored, so distorted, that nothing could be reflected back except the same humiliating and inhibiting attitudes originally and repeatedly reflected back by her mother.

Attitudes toward a child often have a way of spreading through a family and gradually coloring all of the child's interpersonal relations. Reflected back from all the others, such attitudes can really "take hold." And since a person begins to behave according to this reflected self-definition, the attitudes get reinforced. This happened in the case of Jack and Bill. Because of certain unique experiences, Jack showed an early tendency to keep things in order better than his brother Bill. Perhaps the difference noted by the mother was very slight or it could be that she just happened to see Jack pick up the blocks and wasn't around when Bill did it. It could be that *she* was neat and orderly herself and that for some entirely unrelated emotional reasons she identified herself more with Jack. It doesn't matter how she acquired the attitude. Once she had it, the attitude was taken on by other household members and gradually established as the boys' self-attitudes.

Mother, for example, tells Mrs. Brown, who lives next door, that Jack is neat and orderly and puts the blocks back in their box when he has finished his play, but Bill never does. Sister Penelope, aged sixteen, hears this and repeats it. Aunt Martha tells the cook, the cook tells the laundress, and finally daddy hears it, too. Meanwhile, Jack and Bill have been hearing it, and acting accordingly. [Eventually] the family attitude becomes definite on this point: Jack is orderly, and Bill is not. . . .[1]

We have emphasized the importance of self-other experiences in the family. Of course, self-attitudes may also be acquired from "others" outside of the family. All interpersonal experiences contribute to our self-other attitudes.

Importance of the early years

Even though a person's self is constantly undergoing some change—and under certain conditions can change significantly[2]—the looking-glass experiences of the early years are most important in personality development. Let us look at the concrete case of John Smith, for example:

. . . at forty John Smith is fairly sure that he is a good accountant, that his business associates respect

[1] Bossard, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.
[2] Robert L. Sutherland, *Can An Adult Change?* Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas, 1959.

him professionally and like him personally, and that he is a good husband and father, a solid man in the community, a pillar of the church. At the same time Smith knows that he does not rate in the esthetic circles (he has finally been forced to believe even his taste in neckties is execrable), that he is not a successful stock market gambler, and that, barring miracles, he will never break eighty on the golf course or be able to afford a yacht. He does not like to admit "to himself" these latter deficiencies, but they, like his virtues, are now a part of the role in society he has become used to playing. At his age he is about ready to accept this role as representing *him* as he is, and not as youthful dreams made him think he might be.

But when we look back 20 years, we see that the same general characteristics of John Smith's self-conception were already present.

At twenty the world was still pretty much John Smith's oyster. A "big man" in college, he could see himself through the eyes of admiring classmates as a sure-to-be-successful man. Of course he knew he had yet no very effective "way with the women" and his classroom averages were only respectable, not brilliant. But he had proved, he felt, that he could manage "activities" and that he could command public confidence. He felt he was "fairly well balanced," reasonably tolerant, and no worse informed about the world than others of his friends.

Even at twenty, however, John's self-attitudes were not a sudden creation of his college life. The fundamental attitudes of John's self were already his at age six. Through role-taking—or the looking-glass process—John had early gained the attitudes that he was acceptable and able. These self-assured attitudes came out of his experiences with his parents who were particularly careful to avoid emphasizing his childish incapacities. They had been careful to stress his achievements rather than his inevitable awkwardness and failures. Without making him think that he was "the most wonderful child ever" they nevertheless conveyed to him the impression that he was at least as clever and capable as his age-mates. By giving him these attitudes they helped him to feel secure and to make good adjustments with his playmates, his "gang" and his school classmates. He was frequently the leader, but not always. He was never excluded from the group, never an "outsider."

That is to say, John Smith's basic sense of self was developed in the earliest years in the home. The basic attitudes which made him confident and acceptable to himself and others at forty had already been developed by the time he was six. They were the "reflected" product of his parental attitudes toward him. It was through their eyes that he was enabled to see himself as acceptable and able—and thus become secure, self-confident, and capable.

Changes in the self, of course, can occur later on. Unfortunate later experiences might have destroyed John Smith's rather healthy view of himself. In other cases, where children are not given such good self-attitudes in the home, favorable social situations later on can develop better self-attitudes. But in general, the self-pattern is developed by experiences with other persons during the first five or six years of life. The earliest years are the most important.

Attitudes of security and insecurity

Now that we have the general picture of the way our self-attitudes are gained, let us take a closer look. We can then observe two more or less distinguishable sets of self-attitudes being developed in the general process of attitude formation. The one set of self-attitudes is composed of attitudes tending to reflect *security;* the other, *insecurity.*

Even though we are oversimplifying a complex matter, it is correct to say that security attitudes are essentially the product of *satisfying* interaction with other persons, primarily in the first few years of life, and chiefly with the mother. What is meant by satisfying interaction will become clearer as we proceed.

The causes of insecurity. It is more important, at the moment, to understand the causes and consequences of the attitudes of insecurity. The causes are to be found in the kinds of early interpersonal experiences which, to put it simply, give a child the feeling of being *unloved, isolated, threatened, powerless, or unworthy.*[1] Karen Horney details some of the "negative" experiences of the child which lead to these feelings of insecurity:

direct or indirect domination,
indifference,
erratic behavior,
lack of respect for the child's individual needs,

[1] For the insights being presented here, sociologists and psychologists are indebted to the newer developments within the Freudian psychoanalytic school, particularly as expressed by the following psychiatrists:
Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry,* The William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, Washington, D. C., 1940.
Karen Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts* (1945) and *Neurosis and Human Growth* (1950), W. W. Norton and Co., New York.
Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (1941) and *Man for Himself* (1947), Rinehart and Company, Inc., New York.

lack of real guidance,
disparaging attitudes,
too much admiration or the absence of it,
lack of reliable warmth,
having to take sides in parental disagreements,
too much or too little responsibility,
overprotection,
isolation from other children,
injustice,
discrimination,
unkept promises,
hostile atmosphere, and so on and so on.[1]

Horney's list is far from complete, but it does suggest some of the more important interpersonal experiences that can make a child feel unloved, alone, threatened, helpless or unworthy. We should note that some of the most important negative experiences are not a bit obvious. *Direct* domination, for example, may be visible, but only the experienced eye can detect *indirect* domination by a "loving" mother. The conscientious mother who provides her child with "everything" (good diet, clothes, books, music lessons, etc.) can still lack respect for the child's own emotional needs. What goes for "love" can cover a multitude of negative experiences.

What's more, the very earliest experiences can be the most important. During the first few weeks, a failure to supply the baby's physical needs (including sufficient nursing and fondling) will create negative reactions. The way a mother feels toward her baby (rejecting, indifferent, tense—or accepting, relaxed, joyful) will somehow be communicated to the baby during the very first days of nursing. In other words, interpersonal experiences during the nursing period have much to do with the child's start toward security or insecurity. After all, babies are not plants that grow up right if merely given the proper physical environment. They are highly sensitive organisms.[2] Ribble,[3] a noted authority on infant development, states that:

> . . . it is reasonable enough to suppose that the sensitive organism of the human infant would register the effects of experiences related to body security and well-being or to insecurity and lack of personal care. Once registered, these experiences of security or insecurity would be expected to foster responses of positive groping on the one hand, or of negative resistance or withdrawal on the other. These early mechanisms of reaction might then readily gain momentum so as to alter or even to distort the succeeding phases of personality development.[4]

The subtlety of negative experiences is shown, furthermore, by the observation that it is the *child's interpretation* rather than the adult meaning of the experience that counts. A loving parent may die, or the father leave for the army. To a child of three or four, this often creates a deep sense of unworthiness, the logic of which could be verbalized: "If I were worthy, Daddy wouldn't have left me." Or, a feeling of guilt (and unworthiness): "Something I did must have taken Daddy away."

Obviously, no one of the experiences we have just mentioned can, by itself, create permanent insecurity. There has to be a repetition of negative experiences over a period of time. But, in the early life of *any* child there are enough negative experiences to create *some* feelings of insecurity; and enough in the history of *many* children to create *great* feelings of insecurity.

The consequences of insecurity. To the degree that insecurity is present, the child will be motivated to counteract his insecure feelings—to protect, to defend, and to reassure himself. As Horney puts it:

> Harassed by these disturbing conditions [feeling insecure], the child gropes for ways to keep going, ways to cope with this menacing world. Despite his own weakness and fears he unconsciously shapes his tactics to meet the particular forces [attitudes of others toward him] in his [particular interpersonal] environment. In doing so, he develops not only *ad hoc* strategies [for dealing with the immediate situation], but lasting character trends which become a part of his personality. I have called these "neurotic trends."[5]

Whether we call the reaction patterns "neurotic trends," "defense mechanisms," "security-seeking and reassurance-seeking patterns," it is our point that the child "hits upon" behavior to offset insecurity feelings;

[1] Horney, *Our Inner Conflicts*, p. 41. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[2] Marquis has demonstrated that conditioned responses can be established in the newborn and that activity cycles can be changed in the newborn by varying the feeding schedule: D. P. Marquis, "Can Conditioned Responses be Established in the Newborn Infant?" *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 39, pp. 479–492, 1931; "Learning in the Neonate: The Modification of Behaviour under Three Feeding Schedules," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, vol. 29, pp. 263–282, Oct., 1941.

[3] A nontechnical summary of the early physical and psychological needs of an infant is to be found in Margaret A. Ribble, *The Rights of Infants*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1943.

[4] Margaret A. Ribble, "Infantile Experience in Relation to Personality Development," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*. vol. 2, pp. 621, 622. Copyright 1944 by Ronald Press. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[5] Horney, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

and that, if the improvised behavior "works," the pattern is apt to be continued.

Horney classified the defensive, reassurance-seeking reactions under the characterizations of moving *toward, against,* and *away from* people:

> When moving *toward* people, [the child] accepts his own helplessness, and in spite of his estrangement and fear tries to win the affection of others and to lean on them. Only in this way can he feel safe with them. . . . By complying with them, he gains a feeling of belonging and support which makes him feel less weak and less isolated. . . . This type [actually, this is not one type but a composite of reactions] needs to be liked, wanted, desired, loved; to feel accepted, welcomed, approved of, appreciated; to be needed, to be of importance to others, . . . to be helped, protected, taken care of, guided.
>
> When he moves *against* people, he accepts and takes for granted the hostility around him and determines, consciously or unconsciously, to fight. He implicitly distrusts the feelings and intentions of others toward himself. He rebels in whatever ways are open to him. He wants to be the stronger and defeat them. . . .
>
> When he moves *away from* people, he wants neither to belong nor to fight, but keeps apart. He feels he has not much in common with them, they do not understand him anyhow. He builds up a world of his own—with nature, with his dolls, his books, his dreams.[1]

Each of us has probably recognized some of his own security and reassurance-seeking patterns. One pattern tends to predominate, but most of us have mixed patterns. Our basic defensive tendency may be to move toward people, but there may be a less strong tendency to move against them as well; and, maybe, in certain situations we tend to move away from them.

Perhaps some of the attitudes and motives described by Horney will strike the student as being quite "natural." It is therefore important to keep in mind that defensive behavior is not "driven" by the "normal" desires for satisfaction, but is *driven by insecurity*—by what Horney calls "basic anxiety." As such, it is *compulsive* (the person feels he must behave this way, regardless) and *insatiable* (never satisfied for good, never leads to "real" security).

The desire for approval, for example, is generally considered to be a normal, healthy wish. But in defensive behavior there is an additional, insecurity-driven need for recognition. Moreover, if such an attention-hungry person's negative experiences have been very severe, his need to be the center of attention will be of a terrific "I won't play unless I can pitch" sort. His friends will wonder how anybody could be so conceited, or so rigidly insistent upon having the limelight. But the attention-hungry fellow is far from feeling conceited inside. He's really scared, insecure, and anxious underneath, but he learned in childhood that these feelings would temporarily go away when he was the center of attention. So he has to keep on seeking the extra attention. Or there is the person who has to run everything. He is in the same boat, only he learned in *his* particular interpersonal situation in childhood that his anxieties could be relieved as long as he held power—but only as long as he held power.[2]

Threat-oriented vs. productively-oriented attitudes. We can now grasp what Newcomb[3] means by describing defensive behavior as being "threat-oriented." The person is under compulsion to protect and reassure himself as if he were still the child, helpless, alone, or unworthy. He literally "sees" himself as threatened, and he "sees" others as threats. This is made vivid in a woman student's self-analysis:

> I don't trust anybody in the world, not even my mother. After all, people are all selfish deep down and are out only to get, not to give. If you relax for a minute they will take advantage of you. Even the people I have called my friends have always turned out this way. . . . I suppose I can say that I never really have a good time with people. I am always tense with them. . . . I am always expecting the worst to happen; and even when something nice comes about, to myself I feel that it cannot last. . . . Life is a hard thing. I cannot feel relaxed and happy with other people because I am always suspicious of their motives; but the trouble is, I cannot even feel relaxed when I am alone. I get the most horrible thoughts about everybody. Sometimes I think I hate everyone in the world. . . . My parents never really wanted me or loved me, and nobody else ever has either. If I died tomorrow there would not be anybody in the world who would be sorry for more than a few minutes, and there would be a lot of people who would be glad.[4]

To the extent that a person is secure, on the other hand, his behavior is "productively-ori-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43, 51. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

2 For additional discussions of defensive patterns *see* Gardner Murphy, *Personality*, pp. 523–593, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947; and Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself, op. cit.*, pp. 62–82.

3 The particular concepts in the next few paragraphs are from Newcomb, *op. cit.*, pp. 400–407.

4 Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, p. 404, Dryden Press, New York, 1950. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

ented."[1] That is, the person is free of defensive needs and can wholeheartedly pursue the goals that bring satisfaction. Having felt secure and adequate in childhood, he can now "see" himself as adequate—and "see" others as human beings to be enjoyed, appreciated, and interacted with in a realistic and satisfying way. He is free of the extra burden of defending himself as a *value;* instead, he looks upon himself as a *resource*—with energies and capacities adequate for satisfying living.

Both threat-oriented and productively-oriented patterns of behavior rest upon self-other attitudes. To be more precise, they rest upon "attitudes toward the *adequacy* of the self"[2] in relation to others. Attitudes of insecurity are ones of *doubt* concerning the adequacy of the self—hence the constant, threat-oriented concern with the self. Attitudes of security are ones of *confidence* in the adequacy of the self—hence there is no need to bother about self-defense, and the person can get on with the business of living.

Cultural and unique sources. Attitudes of security and insecurity have interpersonal sources of both a cultural and a unique nature.

In any group, there are *shared,* hence cultural, attitudes that make for security or insecurity. This becomes most obvious when methods of child rearing in different cultures are examined. Margaret Mead[3] has pointed out that in Arapesh society, children are valued for themselves, receive good care, much affection, and relatively little discipline. The result of these shared attitudes and expectations is that most Arapesh exhibit the warmth, friendliness, and happiness that flow from feelings of security. The average Alorese child,[4] on the other hand, receives poor and inconsistent physical care. He is weaned by being pushed away or slapped. Training is mostly by shame, ridicule, and threat. Above all, most Alorese mothers have little real affection for their children. The personality consequence is a great deal of insecurity, showing itself in highly threat-oriented behavior—which in turn, by way of threat-oriented mothers, communicates itself again to the next generation.

Societies vary in the degrees of security and insecurity which their cultural attitudes tend to produce.[1] The same may be said of subculture groups. A number of studies[2] have shown that American middle-class children more often have attitudes of insecurity than lower-class children and, hence, tend to be more threat-oriented.

But within the middle class—or to make it more precise, within an American-white-urban-middle-class group, for example—there will be great variations in the development of security or insecurity, owing to unique interpersonal attitudes. Some mothers and fathers *are* more secure than other mothers and fathers, and are therefore more free to interact with their children in ways that lead the child toward a high measure of security. We may, then, safely assume that most security and insecurity differences between the members of the same subcultural group, and also the differences in the individual "choices" of threat-oriented patterns (moving toward, against, and away from people), are largely due to unique interpersonal experiences.

Summarizing perspective

We now possess a vantage point from which we can survey the terrain covered in previous chapters, and see in perspective the main personality producing factors.

We see, in the personality development of

[1] Newcomb uses "goal-oriented" but this seems to be more ambiguous than Fromm's similar use of the term "productive."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[3] Margaret Mead, The Arapesh of New Guinea," in Margaret Mead, editor, *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples,* pp. 20–50, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1937.

[4] Cora Du Bois, *The People of Alor,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1944. An abridged presentation accompanied by a psychoanalytic interpretation by Kardiner, may be found in Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society,* pp. 101–258, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945.

[1] The cultural practices leading to security and insecurity are but a part of the culturally prescribed child-rearing practices which are held to account for the typical personality characteristics found in each cultural group—also called *basic personality* and *modal personality.* For additional analyses of basic personality types, *see* Kardiner's previously cited work; also Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom,* Rinehart and Company, 1941; and Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry,* William Morrow and Co., New York, 1942.

The advanced student will also be interested in S. Stansfeld Sargent and Marian W. Smith, editors, *Culture and Personality,* Viking Fund, New York, 1949; Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, "A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings," *American Sociological Review,* vol. 15, pp. 587–600, Oct., 1950; John W. M. Whiting and Irvin Child, *Child Training and Personality,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1953; and John J. Honigmann, *Culture and Personality,* Harper and Brothers, New York, 1954.

[2] Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-rearing," in Kluckhohn, Murray, and Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 308–320; and Martha C. Ericson, "Child-rearing and Social Status," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 52, pp. 190–192, Nov., 1946.

any person, a *biological organism* interacting with a *physical environment* and with *other persons* (singly and in groups).

Much of this interaction tends to follow the patterns common to the persons in the individual's group. The patterns are *learned* from these individuals. Identified as *folkways, mores, institutional ways, social roles,* etc., these shared ways of interaction constitute *culture.* Some of the ways are common to the members of the largest group to which a person belongs; some are shared only in the subgroups within the largest group.

Much of the interaction, however, seems to be *unique* to the individual. This may be due to his constitutional uniqueness, to the unique personality aspects of his primary group members, chiefly family; it may be due to chance, coincidence, or anything else that can contribute to unique experiences. Furthermore, as unique experiences accumulate behind him, the person tends to react to the total environment, including cultural expectations, in a manner that can be explained only by his *unique life history.*

Such are the main factors which contribute to personality development. We have also seen that all of the factors are dynamically interrelated. This complex interrelatedness explains why an increasing number of the students of personality talk about a *field* of forces —and think of personality as developing within a field of forces.[1]

Even though we have identified some of the main classes of forces in this field, the specific forces are so many and in such intricate interaction that it is hopeless to follow them through in detail. To understand and deal with personality we have to resort to intervening concepts such as *motives* and *attitudes,* and particularly *self-other attitudes.* We cannot unscramble with precision the exact forces that interacted to produce a given attitude. But insofar as we can know what a person's attitudes are, we can understand and, to a certain extent, predict his behavior. Attitudes represent the most useful and meaningful concept for understanding personality; and personality may be thought of (and defined) as *the individual's organization of attitudes.*

[1] The general implications of *field theory* are summarized in Gardner Murphy, "The Relationships of Culture and Personality," in Sargent and Smith, editors, *Culture and Personality,* pp. 13–23, Viking Fund, Inc., New York, 1949.

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Part III

Social Processes

Chapter 8

Interaction and Social Processes

Prestige and Competition

It is clear by now that the academician participates in a highly competitive social system. There is necessarily much co-operation, but competition, or individual striving for ends that cannot be equally shared, creates the problems in which we are interested. Those in training for membership, it has been observed, compete for grades, prizes, honors, and fellowships. Selection and promotion are based upon criteria that assume competition. Universities and departments within them are in active and sometimes acrid competition for students, money, and other symbols of achievement. Wherever accomplishment is measured comparatively, there is inevitable competitiveness.

Co-operation is a much lauded process in higher education, and effective organization would be impossible without it, yet no considerable acumen is required to see divergences between professed emphases and actual workings of the system. Major universities compete for their share of the national income. Institutions supported by the same domain compete with one another. Private and public universities are placed in rival positions, and growth in one place may imply decline elsewhere. As the limits of expansion in higher education are approached, the struggle for a place in the sun is even more intensified. The quick tempo of social change prevents stabilization of the position of any university, so that the weakest institutions struggle to keep alive, the average ones to maintain themselves or to improve their status, and the best to stay at the forefront. . . .

It is within this institutional setting that the academic man seeks his goals. Institutional prestige is translated into personal prestige, and vice versa. The social system of the university abstractly phrases competition in terms of objective technical competence, irrespective of personal rivalries, yet on the concrete level status is made important, and there is no way of measuring success except by comparisons. To satisfy individual wishes for security and recognition, scholarly disinterestedness must rest paradoxically upon some form of interestedness. . . .

Although scholars and scientists collectively are less given to ulterior motives than are most occupational groups, deviations appear on the individual level. The quest for prestige normally is indirect, in that self-aggrandizement supposedly is only a by-product of merit, but this is not always the case. It is easy to exaggerate academic competition as a selfish struggle of egoists, and concomitantly to minimize the vast amount of co-operation in higher learning. Notwithstanding the latter, the outward placidity of academic life belies the intensity of inner processes.

"Prestige and Competition" is from Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man*, pp. 157–174, Oxford University Press, Inc., New York, 1942. Reprinted by permission.

* * *

Social interaction

Society is a system of relationships. The structures, functions, the statuses, roles, and values of society rightly came in for earlier consideration in Chapter Two. They are what sociology begins with. They are the stabilizing and limiting influences of human life. They are what you perceive first when you think of society, social organization, or social system.

In the work quoted above, Logan Wilson analyzes what he regards as a highly competitive social system, the academic community. He uses the terms "prestige hierarchy," "social universe," "substantive symbols of status," "ascribed and achieved statuses," "function," and "open social system." These are concepts of the order treated in Chapter Three. They refer to the patterned and and structured ways of a society, but he uses

other terms [1] as well: "group interests," processes of "co-operation," "competition," "motivation," and "dynamic processes" at work in social organization. He even talks about individuals and particular universities. He cites the proud statements of some college alumni. In other words, the reader of Wilson's book first sees the order and structure of the academic community, but he also realizes that within the setting, there are real people, there are individual differences, there are strivings, there is action, there are exceptions to the patterned ways. So it is with any social system.

If life is stable, confined, and defined by traditional systems, norms, and patterned ways, it is also fast-moving, dynamic, and changing, breaking out at the weak points or where conflict is greatest. People are on the move. They are striving, competing, conflicting, co-operating, appeasing, adjusting, reconciling, and then challenging again.

People in action with one another means interaction in some measure and form. All science studies interaction among elements and forces. When people and their attitudes are involved, the process becomes social. Or, more precisely, *social interaction is that dynamic interplay of forces in which contact between persons and groups results in a modification of the attitudes and behavior* [2] *of the participants.* To see if interaction has taken place, we need but ask: has there been a change in attitude or behavior, that is, a modification in the personality of individuals or in the structure or values of groups?

There are four important aspects of interaction: (1) social contacts are a *prerequisite* of interaction; (2) *communication* is the medium of interaction; (3) the different ways or modes in which these forces operate are the types of interaction; and (4) social interaction always occurs within a social structure, even though that structure itself may undergo change as a result of it! The first two will now be considered, and the other points will be developed later.

Social contacts the prerequisites of interaction

As the term is popularly used, contact simply means a coming together of independent units. Physical contact without social meaning does not alter attitudes. Bumping into other persons in the rush for the "shuttle train" at the Times Square subway is physical, not social. Prisoners sentenced under the old Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement came into contact daily with their keeper, but there was no interaction of personalities. As the jailer unlocked the hole in the cell door and inserted the tray of food, he neither looked at nor spoke to the inmate. Similarly, the contact between workmen in some modern factories is nearly deprived of social meaning as they stand hidden from one another by the machines which they operate.

In contrast with the above illustrations, contact is social when there is a *mutual response, an inner adjustment of behavior to the actions of others.* This is another way of stating that interaction is speeded when a condition of rapport exists among people—when the keeper communicates with his prisoner, when the workman treats his colleague as another human being.

> Until material or sensory contact acquires meaning for the subjective selves of the persons concerned, it is not social . . . The social behavior of human beings consists of acquired responses to the meaningful responses of others. Human interaction, in other words, is communicative interaction.[3]

Symbolic communication as the medium of interaction

In communication one person infers from the behavior of another the idea or feeling of the other person. He then reacts not to the behavior as such but to the inferred meaning of it, and the other person likewise reacts to his response.

> When a girl receives flowers, she looks at them and smells them, but her main interest is in *who* sent them and *why*. Were they sent to end a quarrel, to mark an anniversary, to cement a promise, to say farewell, to brighten an illness? Unless she can answer such questions, she will feel at loose ends, not knowing what to do. It is the meanings behind the behavior that are involved in the system of mutual expectations. . . .[4]

Davis has described what we shall call symbolic and meaningful communication. A symbol is a summary of experience. Language is the richest storehouse of such signs or symbols. However, nonwritten and nonverbal behavior can also symbolize a meaning. The

[1] The concepts in this paragraph appear in Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man*, pp. 157–174, Oxford University Press, New York, 1942.

[2] The scientist cannot directly observe attitudes but infers them from observed behavior. Many instruments for attitude measurement through this inferential approach have been perfected by social psychologists.

[3] Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, p. 149, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950. Reprinted by permission of the Macmillan Company.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 150. Reprinted by permission.

"Paperbacks" play a special part in modern communication. They bring to the masses books whose cost would otherwise be prohibitive. The display racks in stations, airports, and drugstores contain many trashy paperbacks but also include classics of fiction and nonfiction. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

raised hand and bent thumb of the hitchhiker is an effective "language" of communication with the motorist. The gestures of the French policemen, controlling traffic at busiest intersections, became so formalized and accurate, as well as colorful, that many citizens requested the retention of these officers even after traffic lights were ready to do the job mechanically. The officers communicated as effectively as the mechanism could have, but in addition there were both personal and ritualistic elements which they wanted to retain. Even traffic lights are a means of communicating regulations without a word-language.

Social groupings need a language.[1] Verbal or mathematical symbols are indispensable in abstract thought, in the elaborate recording of social experience known as history, and in the speedy conduct of the day-by-day business of an organization. When ideas are first written, they may appear as pictures (the archaeologists have found simple histories of this type); but as the civilization becomes more complex, subtle communication develops; the pictures are abbreviated into stylized lines, emerging eventually as an alphabet. The language of social experience is then well on its way.

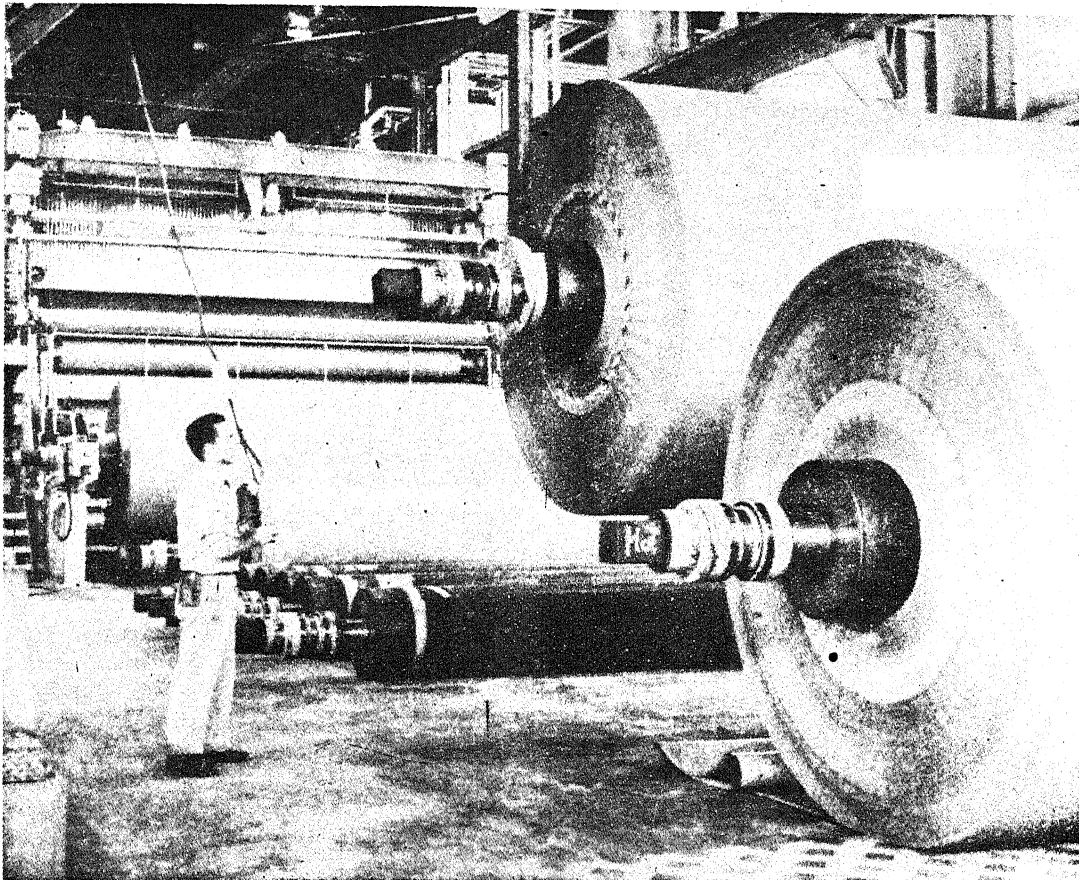
The main points thus far should be clear. Social interaction is the basic process through which human nature and social structure develop and are changed. The process can take place only when the contacts between people are social. Contacts are social only when meanings are communicated between persons. Symbols constitute the medium for communication by virtue of the fact that they are social products. They are summaries of experience, which provide the basis for a common understanding of present situations.

Universe of discourse

Even though most groups in a large society use the same language, each group is apt to have some symbols of communication unlike those of any other. The jazz band or the "rock-and-roll artists" are groups unto themselves, and their vocabulary is distinctive. The lingo changes so rapidly that the devotee of one era may not understand the words of the next unless history or a dictionary records them. This is well illustrated by the following:

> LONDON (AP)—The cat that bent her roll-on getting hep in the espresso has at last gained official recognition in Britain.
>
> Cat, hep, roll-on a two-way stretch, and espresso are all included in the latest supplement put out by the authoritative Chambers British Dictionary.
>
> Ten years ago these words would have meant little to people who rely on the dictionary for their English. Had they described the cat's dilemma with the words then at their command, they likely would have said:
>
> "A young lady with an addiction for jazz music suffered a disarrangement of her clothing while performing a vigorous dance in a coffee house used by the younger set."

[1] Who does the communicating and his social position are important factors in interaction. Message "starters" were selected according to their position in the social structure of boys' groups in a summer camp. For the report of this research, *see* Otto N. Larsen and Richard J. Hill, "Social Structure and Interpersonal Communication," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 63, pp. 497–505, March, 1958.

Communication has come far since the days of picture-writing and of monastic hand-copying of books. Low-cost production of paper and mechanical reproduction of type have extended communication to the masses. Even in competition with radio and television, more printed pages are known to more people than ever in history. (Courtesy St. Regis Paper Company)

This is a measure of what is happening to the English language, but as a spokesman for Chambers said, "We must keep up with the times." [1]

This *world of special meanings* is called a *universe of discourse*. It typifies communication in any culturally distinctive unit but is especially well illustrated in the occupational group. Grain brokers in the Chicago Board of Trade use finger signals by means of which bids and sales amounting to thousands of dollars are indicated. Likewise, the "sandhogs" who sink traffic tunnels under the Hudson or the Detroit River have a vocabulary understandable only to themselves. The Washington news correspondents have their special and secret ways of describing (in private) the characters of the public persons with whom they deal. Doctors have their own technical lingo; so do plumbers and printers; and so do chemists, biologists, engineers, and sociologists. In fact, one of the purposes of introductory sociology is to become acquainted with a portion of the sociologist's universe of discourse, which has grown out of his research experience and his attempts to conceptualize his findings.

[1] *American Statesman* (Austin, Texas), May 16, 1959. Reprinted by permission.

Not only each occupational group but every cultural or subcultural group possesses some words and gestures which convey meaning only among its members. This is true even of such small groups as a club, a sorority, or a family. But a universe of discourse implies more than common symbols. It includes all the assumptions, points of view, philosophy, "run of attention," history of experience, values, and subtle meanings which are shared by the group members. The universe of discourse is the *totality of shared symbols and*

meanings by which the members of a group communicate even the finest shades of meaning to one another.

The *structure* of a group is the stabilized set of relationships and meanings which has grown up in social experience. Members' activities are defined through the norms and values which over the years the group has come to espouse.

Interaction through the communication of social meanings occurs within a structure. Only in times of severe upheaval are new meanings and symbols developed rapidly. Lovers may think that their experience is unique, and, in a measure, it is. However, love's meaning and symbols of communication are a part of a local culture which governs the way sentiment is expressed from courtship to establishing a home. Life is ever unique, individual, and spontaneous, or we hope that it is. With our other hand we also acknowledge that it is stable, traditional, and structured —at least it had better be, if anarchy is to be avoided. The universe of discourse stands for the specialized structuring of the particular set of symbols which have meaning for a subgroup in a larger society. Without such meaning, interaction could not occur.

The processes of social interaction

Social interaction is the dynamic interplay of men within social structures. It depends upon symbolic communication and has other prerequisites and characteristics. Its significance cannot be encompassed at a glance, for social interaction is the elemental, the basic, the generic term of sociology. It is rivaled in importance only by *social structure* itself. Wilson and Kolb give the concept, interaction, priority in these words:

> Although sociological analysis may be variously focused upon culture, personality, social relations, social structure, and other basic considerations, the most common concern of sociology is social interaction. Both culture and society are the products of *social interaction*, which in itself is the fundamental category to which the countless ways of people of all times and places are reducible.[1]

Another way to understand social interaction more fully is to look at its many forms. The modes of interaction are called *social processes*. They range from the extremes of isolation to unity. In absolute isolation—as unattainable as absolute zero—there is no interaction. In a completely unified group or society, many social processes are operating fully. But this, too, is a theoretical point on a continuum, dreamed about by lovers or by international idealists, but seldom, if ever, attained in real life.

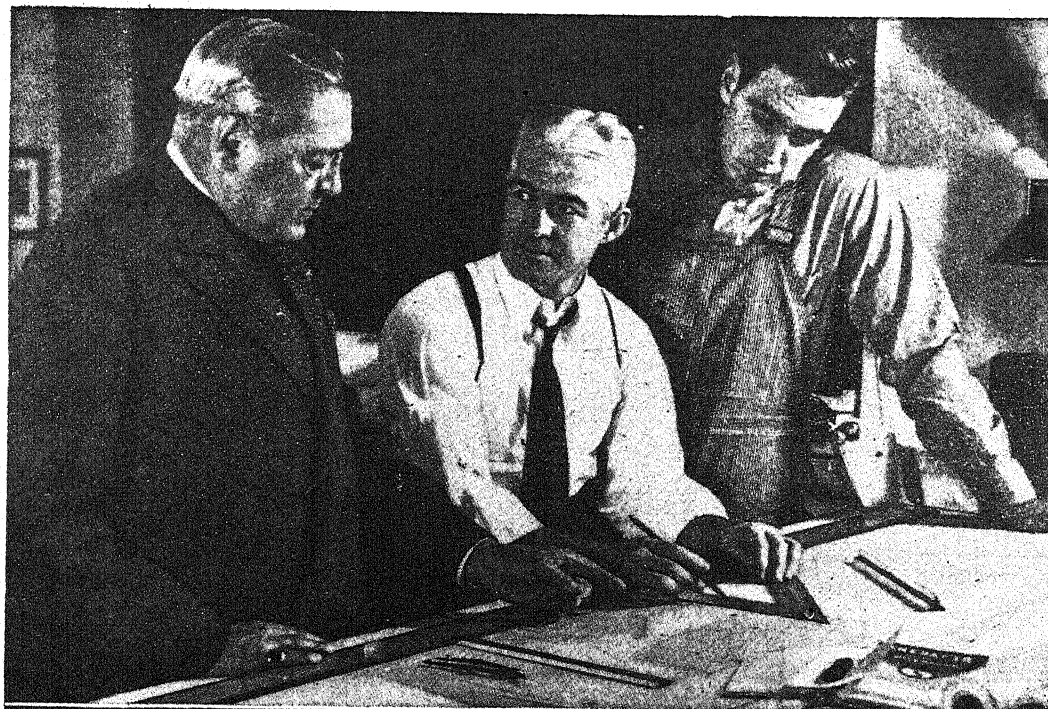
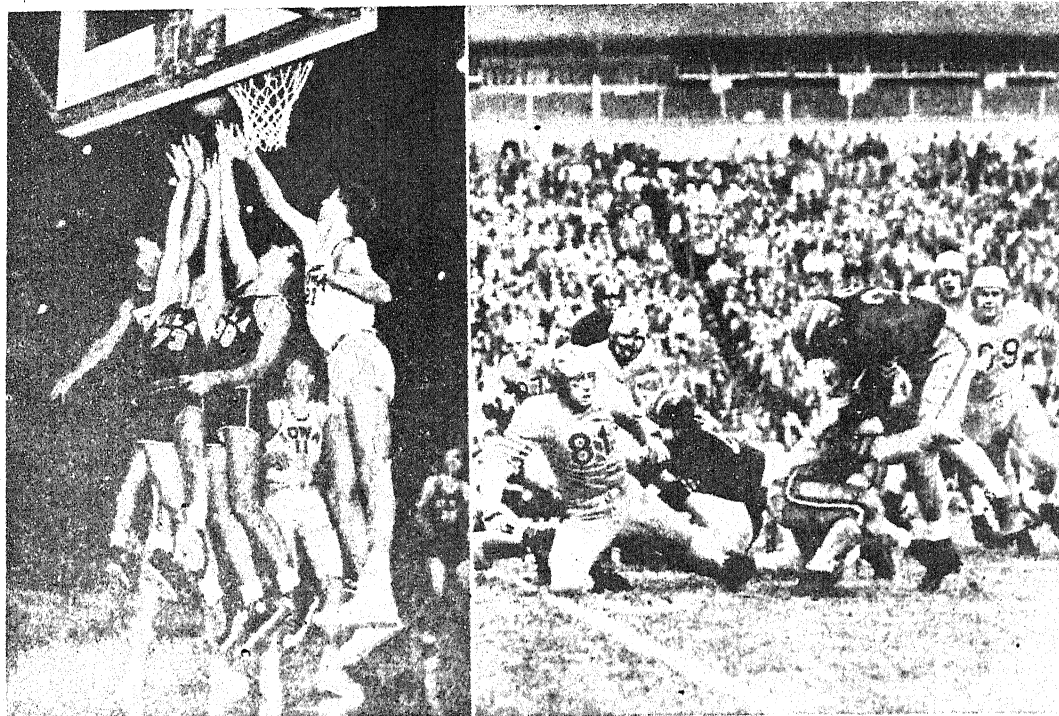
Other terms have been used for putting into two large categories the multiple forms of interaction as a convenient beginning of their classification. Instead of referring to the unrealistic states of isolation and unity, we can think of the different modes of interaction as belonging to processes of a co-operative nature or an oppositional nature, of a *conjunctive nature* or a *disjunctive nature*,[2] and of an *integrative* or *conflicting nature*.

The dynamic, active, changing aspect of social life is so varied that large categories are only a starting point. In any real situation, interaction appears in various forms and mixtures. A minister or priest communes with his deity through the structured ways of liturgy and ritual. Such communion is a unifying experience, sometimes taking on the otherworldly quality of mysticism. Slightly under the surface of this interaction, competition may arise gently. Which clergyman is to officiate in the principal edifice and on the most important occasion. Even mysticism has difficulty remaining pure.

Less gently and with conflict unmistakably rearing itself, the opponents in a political contest may be personal in their attacks upon one another and in some countries have been known to go beyond bombastic words to open fighting, but at other times they may sit together on the same platform and shake hands before television cameras.

Even conflict involves some co-operation. The opposing parties implicitly agree (a mild form of co-operation) on what they are fighting about. Enemies in wartime co-operate under certain rules while they proceed to annihilate each other with the accepted modes and weapons of warfare. The co-operation is far too little to eliminate the danger, but there is a trace—enough to show that interaction is seldom if ever completely pure in any one form. Therefore, we are not looking for five or six neat categories into which all interaction

[1] Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, p. 681, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1949.

[2] These two terms were the framework used in *ibid.*, pp. 683–687.

Co-operation is basic to all group life and, therefore, to all other social processes. It appears in a multitude of specific patterns. (Top, Courtesy Harold M. Lambert; Bottom, Ewing Galloway)

Competition takes many forms. It may be striving for a sports victory, for fame and honor, or for profits and goods. But it is a struggle that is kept under control by society's rules of the game.

can be fitted, but rather for the principal social processes which appear repeatedly in human association.

Competition

What people want has some biological base, but to a large extent, it is culturally determined. If one were to focus a satellite spotlight on any society in the world, the observer would see people striving. Where population is dense and soil fertility low, he would see a primitive struggle for survival because food in any form is a prized possession.

In another society he would observe that people do not try merely to control the land or lay hands on food directly, but they compete for jobs and then for "positions" with still higher income and status. High-level occupational and prestige roles may be as limited and as strenuously sought as the possession of a bushel of rice elsewhere.

Competition—a subsocial struggle to start with

Whenever and wherever commodities which people want are available in a limited supply, there is competition. Just as trees in a forest "compete" for the sunshine, the water, and the food they need to grow, so much human striving for the felt necessities of life goes on in a relatively impersonal manner. The eye is on the goal rather than the competitors. This subsocial struggle for the good things exists everywhere but appears in many forms, always reflecting the local values of the people.

Economists study intensively the process of competition for goods and services. The ecologist can tell how people are distributed spatially as a result of competition for land and for everything related to it. The human geographer likewise sees the forces and results of competition as the resources of nature are utilized by people to achieve their individual and group goals.

As competition becomes more personal, it shades into conflict—the more disruptive, disjunctive social process. The focus of the participants is now not upon the goal but upon the other persons who are striving for the same goal. Conflict is directed at taking something away from the competitor, placing him at a disadvantage in the struggle, or eliminating him altogether.

Donald R. Young has observed that racial groups may live in apparent harmony if "the times are prosperous" and if the members do not appear to hinder one another in competition for goods and services. However, during times of adversity when everyone is nervous about his security, there is a greater danger that some leader will "define the situation" in terms of interpersonal and intergroup conflict.[1]

"They are taking our jobs away from us," will be claimed if members of a disadvantaged racial group are employed at a lower rate and if the traditional occupants of the roles are discharged. Likewise, competition for good housing becomes conflictive if there is a feeling that one group is "invading" the area traditionally occupied by another. And if one group is excluded, it becomes antagonistic, stimulated by a sense of personal and group injustice, which it calls discrimination. Conflict does not always occur when competition becomes acute. It only happens if the struggle is *defined* in personal terms and the attitudes of the participants become *personal* and *hostile* toward one another.

People organize in an effort to compete more effectively. Much of the social structure in an industrial economy results from this process. The patterned ways of a labor union, a trade association, a chamber of commerce, even a state-wide organization of classroom teachers develop because of strength in numbers. With its membership fees, the chamber of commerce buys advertising or offers free land to induce industry to locate in its community rather than elsewhere. In 1959, the Texas Legislature appropriated its first sum of money to advertise the tourist attractions of a state which previously had been well publicized by tall tales and pointed stories.

When a legislature convenes, competition operates continuously to increase or decrease and to distribute tax moneys. How the pie will be sliced is of consequence to mental patients cared for at public expense, to teachers employed in public schools, and to localities which want flood control. Keeping down all taxation is the goal of other groups which represent large taxpayers or large numbers of small ones. Orderly competition usually occurs, but sometimes conflict erupts. Its reason and forms will be discussed in a later chapter.

[1] Based on a tape-recording of a lecture given by Donald R. Young in Galveston, Texas, December, 1957.

Following the rules of the game

Competition is said to involve co-operation, ironic though the statement appears. This is true because competitive struggle implies some agreement among the participants. Members of baseball teams compete according to rigid rules prescribed by an association and enforced by officials. A "baseball czar" is the final authority in enforcing these regulations. Nevertheless, when a team receives several adverse rulings from an umpire, the television camera focuses on the official who seems about to be torn to pieces by the irate players. The argument is vociferous, heated, and possibly profane. Even this behavior, oddly enough, is patterned, structured, and regulated. Seldom do the players lose their tempers completely. In part, the "blow-off" is for dramatic effect. No player expects the umpire to change his decision, but the players do think he will be less prone to make another adverse decision for awhile. This is behavior which lies somewhere on the continuum between impersonal competition and clear-cut, personal conflict. Baseball is a highly competitive sport in which attention is placed upon recruiting superior players, training them perfectly, and urging them to compete with high spirit and determination. Rarely does the competition become so personal that a feud between opposing players issues in a personal fight off the ball field. The force of custom is tremendous when it can allow spirits and fists to fly and yet check both just before personal conflict gets out of hand. It does not always succeed.

Lobbyists at a state capitol are governed by legislative rules and, to some extent, by their own informal codes of conduct. Yet all the while, each is competing for an advantageous position for his client. When rules of the game are violated by lobbyists, by merchants, or anyone else engaged in a struggle for goods or position, "cut-throat competition" has broken out. The patterned struggle has become interpersonal or intergroup conflict. Rules have been abandoned, and free-for-all fighting has appeared. When this occurs, one of the competing groups or "the public" which is suffering from the conflict may seek the help of legislatures to intervene with regulations. For example, some states have passed trade laws prohibiting the use of the term "fire sale" unless there has actually been a fire.

Competition is all pervasive, and so also

are the co-operative arrangements which limit it. The forms of both vary with different societies. The Soviet Union is not without competition among individuals and groups in spite of its theory to the contrary. The struggle for economic advantage and for political power is omnipresent. It takes on a different form in an industrialized democracy such as ours, where free enterprise, private property, and a laissez-faire economy are held to be the norms. In practice, our property is never entirely private, and our economy is far from unregulated. Both are controlled by government and by voluntary associations to keep competition within bounds and to prevent one of the competitors from gaining a monopoly. Regulations on our economy have arisen "in the public interest." In Russia, the control is far more rigorous and inclusive, but even there, it is not complete. Individuals vie for favored positions. Under the rules of the regime, one profession seeks to increase its rate of pay as the political bosses decide how indispensable it is to the success of the nation.

We are a free people, in the sense that we have more freedom to win in competition through individual effort and through group initiative than is true of some other societies. We can vote, and, nearly always, elections are conducted honestly. This voting allows individuals and groups to which they belong, to determine the extent and form of regulation. We are free to seek and to change jobs, though again within limits. Employers and associations set standards, requirements, and regulations. Unions have much to say about who can be hired and under what conditions. We are free to rent or buy a house wherever we please, but this, too, is regulated. If we insist on keeping chickens and a cow, we cannot live in certain areas. A householder who neglects his property by allowing unsanitary conditions to develop is required by law and by health officials who represent it to change his ways or leave. Until the Supreme Court declared them unconstitutional, real estate compacts prohibited persons of certain religions or races from occupying a given area.

An industrial democracy has considerable competition, but it is not "free competition." It is limited by social controls. They are reflected in the way social roles are defined and in the way people are regulated or punished if they veer too far from the accepted pattern. This section of the book started out to discuss the dynamics of human behavior, the action, the social change phase of society. In this quest for the dynamic, we are chastened by the discovery that the most aggressive acts of vigorous competitors bear the mark and the limitation of the norms of a regulated society.

Conflict

Research on intergroup relations has not progressed far, but there has been a start. The social psychologist, Muzafer Sherif, in his classic Robbers Cave Study and in his later analysis in 1961 of natural group behavior in several Oklahoma and Texas communities, has shown how the competition between groups can lead to conflict. The earlier experiment took place in Robbers Cave State Park in Oklahoma. The "Rattlers" and the "Eagles" came to be the names of the two boys' groups. Altogether there were twenty-two boys about eleven years of age from middle socio-economic class circumstances and from stable Protestant families. None was from a broken home and none was a problem case.

In the first stage of the experiment, each group became stabilized as the members worked together during a week's period on problem situations in which they had common goals. Examples of the problems were how to launch canoes over rough terrain, and how to prepare a group meal with limited ingredients provided.

After each group had become structured in the fulfillment of such common tasks, the two groups were brought into competition with one another. The devices were simple such as a tug-of-war and other tournament events. Concerning this second phase, Sherif reports:

> In the competitive events, the success of one group meant the failure of the other. In the reciprocally frustrating engagements that flared up, unfavorable invectives were hurled across group lines. Physical encounters intensified intergroup hostility. Within six days the intergroup conflict produced such an unfavorable image of the out-group, with accompanying derogatory stereotypes, that each group was dead set against having any more to do with the other. Thus, there arose extreme social distance between the two groups.[1]

The form of interaction known as conflict is dramatically and lamentably present in war. Group studies made during World War II indicate that at some stages in warfare the be-

[1] Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology*, p. 307, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1956.

havior takes on the appearance of competition for advantage between large-scale organizations. But when armies finally meet in man-to-man engagements, the interaction immediately becomes one of interpersonal and intergroup conflict. The goal is not to gain a point of advantage in strategic planning but to annihilate the enemy in direct struggle. The new machines of war may reduce somewhat this element of personal conflict. More of the annihilation may be conducted on an impersonal, large-scale basis. Mass media will be used to tell people why they are fighting and why the enemy must be vanquished. The feeling of interpersonal hatred and the will to win will be created by propaganda devices. In other words, modern, long-range warfare may lose some of the earlier meaning of interpersonal conflict. Nevertheless, nations continue to prepare for war with greater expenditures and efficiency than they use to prevent it.

Fight gangs in Chicago, New York, London, and other cities claim territorial rights and seek competitive advantage through larger membership or complicated ritual, insignia, and controls within the group. But if one gang invades the territory of another, conflict behavior is quickly touched off by the suggestion of a leader. Or, if gang members are stimulated by the daring of leaders who, for reasons of personal prestige, start attacks upon innocent youths or upon other gangs, the other members fall into the pattern of conflict behavior for the ironic reason of self-protection.

Moving from this prologue about conflict and illustrations of it, we try more systematically to understand the process and different manifestations of it.

The closer the relationship between persons or groups, the more intense is the conflict if it arises. Sociologically, this is almost a truism. In a close, interpersonal relationship, attitudes, beliefs, and a universe of discourse are shared over a long period. Persons are not discreet entities—their lives are interwoven and interdependent as in marriage or even a business partnership. If this relationship is disrupted by growing isolation, change in values, antagonistic feelings of jealousy, or fear, the effects on the persons involved are deep-seated because the attachment which preceded separation was fundamental and emotional, not casual or expedient.

Continuing to elaborate this theory, which initially was based upon Georg Simmel's work, *Conflict,* Coser states that in an organization which encompasses the total personality:

> . . . the bond between members is much stronger there than in groups where segmental types of relations prevail. . . .
>
> Individuals who participate intensely in the life of such groups are concerned with the group's continuance. If they witness the breaking away of one with whom they have shared cares and responsibilities of group life, they are likely to react in a more violent way against such "disloyalty" than less involved members.[1]

Groups formerly in conflict may unite if they seek an important common goal which can only be achieved through co-operation. Or, as the Sherifs state the hypothesis:

> When groups in a state of friction are brought into contact under conditions embodying superordinate goals, which are compelling but which cannot be achieved by the efforts of one group alone, they will tend to co-operate toward the common goal.[2]

In the third stage of the experiment, Sherif's staff had created situations in which competition between the two groups of boys frequently issued in conflict. In a tug-of-war the Rattlers accused the Eagles of unfair and underhanded methods. Retaliatory measures took the form of "garbage fights," which consisted of "throwing mashed potatoes, leftovers, bottle caps, and the like, accompanied by the exchange of derogatory names." [3]

And then the experiment was tried of introducing a common problem and a common goal. The behavior hypothesized actually occurred! Here is how it happened:

> Both groups were warned several hours in advance that there was trouble in the water-supply system. Water came from a tank on top of a hill about a mile away. The tank was supplied with water pumped from a reservoir approximately two miles' walking distance from the camp. The terrain between camp and tank and reservoir was mountainous, rough, thickly wooded, and bushy. Both groups had had first-hand acquaintance with these places during Stage I, when each went on separate overnight camp-outs in the area. They had filled their canteens from a large faucet on the tank. So the water-supply system was real in the subjects' experience.
>
> The problem situation was created by turning off a valve at the water tank and stuffing the open faucet on the tank with pieces of sacking. Several

[1] Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict*, p. 69, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1956. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Sherif and Sherif, *op. cit.*, p. 318. Reprinted by permission. *See* also Muzafer Sherif, "Superordinate Goals in the Reduction of Intergroup Conflict," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 63, pp. 349–356, January, 1958; and Harry Estill Moore, *Tornadoes Over Texas*, pp. 228–255, The University of Texas Press, Austin, 1958.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

hours after a first warning, the water in the pipes leading to the camp was all drained through use. Therefore, both groups were summoned to a central place at which the main pipe line in the camp divided into smaller lines supplying various points throughout the camp area. After demonstrating that the main pipe line and accessories were bone dry, the camp administration declared its inability to cope with the water situation within a reasonable time. It was explained that the defect might be leakage somewhere along the length of pipe line, at the pump by the reservoir, or in the supply tank. In order to make the outcome credible, it was stated that in the past vandals had been known to tamper with the supply system. Therefore, to solve the problem several parts of the system had to be attended to and about 20–25 men were required to discover the difficulty that day. By this time the Eagles were getting thirsty; the Rattlers still had a little water in their canteens.

Both groups promptly volunteered to tackle the situation. The details that volunteered for various segments of the water system were made up of either all Rattlers or all Eagles.

The announced plan was for all details to meet at the water tank after inspecting the pipe line and pump. In a little over an hour, all details congregated by the large tank. Since they were thirsty and hot, the first object of attention was the faucet on the tank. No water came out of the faucet. The members of the two groups took over the procedure. They tried to ascertain whether there was water in the tank. When the faucet had been stopped up by the staff earlier in the day, the ladder, which leaned against the tank for climbing atop it, had been laid aside in the weeds about 30 feet away. Now the ladder was discovered by the boys. Almost to a man, Eagles and Rattlers were on top of the tank to look through the opening there and see if there was water in the tank. In short order, they came to the conclusion that the tank was practically full. Then the majority of both Eagles and Rattlers rushed again to the faucet. They discovered now that the faucet was stopped up with pieces of sack. Immediately they tackled the task of removing it. They pooled their available implements (mostly knives) and took turns at the work. Members of each group were mindful of and receptive to suggestions from members of the other group. There was common rejoicing at even the appearance of a few drops of water as efforts proceeded. This work lasted over half an hour. Then a Rattler suggested getting help from staff members. When the task was completed with staff help and the valve leading to the camp was turned on, there were expressions of satisfaction from all with the accomplishment, in which members of both groups had had an active and effective part.

This first co-operative action toward a common goal did not eliminate the stabilized intergroup friction. An hour later at supper, there was once again an exchange of invectives across group lines.[1]

Conflict may be realistic or nonrealistic.[2] Realistic conflict arises when there are specific frustrations and when the frustrating object can be identified and attacked.

On the other hand, in modern society, the person can be at odds with himself and his group without knowing just when the frustration arose or whom he should attack if he wants to get rid of it! A growing awareness of inadequacy in his job or in his social relations may cause a person to have a sense of ill-being. Since he cannot blame anyone in particular, he sometimes turns the blame inward in a spirit of depression, self-contempt, or in an extreme case, of self-destruction.

Or, aggressively, he may strike outward at a minor irritation and the person who causes it. His blow, physical or psychological, is far out of proportion to the immediate incident. It represents pent-up emotions of fear, jealousy, and hurt pride. This expression of conflict is unrealistic because it strikes at a symbol, not at the cause.

"Safety-valve institutions" have arisen in some societies to give outlet to pent-up emotions.[3] For example, when Father Rahm established a youth center in a culturally mixed section of El Paso, he tried slowly to convert fight gangs into clubs with meetings held in the Center. Instead of making a sudden transition from the glamor, daring, and danger of street fights to parliamentary procedure, he allowed the behavior in the Center to be only one or two steps more controlled than it had been on the streets. The first recreation feature installed was a boxing ring, and not infrequently Father Rahm put on gloves to box a boy bent on fighting somebody. If animosities flared between leaders of rival gangs, which met as clubs in the Center, Father Rahm singled the antagonists out for direct conflict but under the social control of the rules of boxing. Fists would fly and noses would bleed, but knives were not used. Actually, the boys were permitted the choice of knives or boxing gloves, but in the atmosphere of the Center, knives have never been chosen. This safety-valve institution was by no means firmly established in its control. As club members left the building, they sometimes resorted to old techniques. Nevertheless, a first step had been taken in limiting conflict by a pattern of control. Since the pattern still allowed for aggressive behavior, Coser would call it a "safety-valve institution," taking his cue from the earlier writings of Simmel.

"The absence of conflict cannot be taken as

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 319–320. Reprinted by permission.
[2] This is a contrast made by Lewis Coser *op. cit.*, p. 49.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

an index of the strength and stability of a relationship." [1] Simmel, and later Coser, maintained that if a relationship is truly stable, and if a group is unified over a period of time and in experiences which have emotional depth, tnen an occasional conflict may do no harm; and, in fact, the ability of a group to take it is evidence in itself of the group's basic unity. In a family, if husband and wife are in love in the fullest and most varied meaning of the relationship and if this basic regard of affection, respect, and common purpose lasts over a period of time, it becomes a *function* of the *family structure*. It is stable, dependable, and strong enough to meet varied behavior and even an occasional antagonistic attitude.

This argument should not be pushed too far. If the disruptive experiences become more frequent and the emotions expressed more explosive, then gradually the persons or the groups involved adjust their attitudes to an expectation of conflict. At some point in this continuum, the function of conflict becomes more characteristic of the relationship than the function of co-operation.

Georg Simmel, on whose earlier work much of Coser's writing was based, gave the term "conflict" a novel, positive connotation. He maintained that "Conflict is . . . a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it be through the annihilation of one of the conflicting parties." [2] He called the dissociating factors—hate, envy, need, desire—the causes of conflict, but it is the process of conflict which resolves divergent dualisms.[3] "Social phenomena appear in a new light when seen from the angle of this sociologically positive character of conflict." [4] Simmel gave the process a positive connotation only when a particular expression of conflict is viewed in larger perspective. "The negative and dualistic elements play an entirely positive role in this more comprehensive picture, despite the destruction they may work on particular relations." [5] Simmel tried to prove his point by citing the possible unifying effect of conflict in different relationships and structures. One example he presented is:

> . . . the marital couple, which nevertheless involve an unlimited number of vital relations among their members. A certain amount of discord, inner divergence and outer controversy, is organically tied up with the very elements that ultimately hold the group together; it cannot be separated from the unity of the sociological structure. This is true not only in cases of evident marital failure but also in marriages characterized by a *modus vivendi* which is bearable or at least borne. Such marriages are not "less" marriages by the amount of conflict they contain; rather, out of so many elements, among which there is that inseparable quantity of conflict, they have developed into the definite and characteristic units which they are.[6]

From larger group relationships Simmel also drew examples which he maintained prove the "sociational" function of conflict. In referring to the conflict which may flare in a relationship of tyranny and oppression, Simmel pointed out:

> Our opposition makes us feel that we are not completely victims of the circumstances. It allows us to prove our strength consciously and only thus gives vitality and reciprocity to conditions from which, without such corrective, we would withdraw at any cost.
>
> Opposition achieves this aim even where it has no noticeable success, where it does not become manifest but remains purely covert. Yet while it has hardly any practical effect, it may yet achieve an inner balance (sometimes even on the part of *both* partners to the relation), may exert a quieting influence, produce a feeling of virtual power, and thus save relationships whose continuation often puzzles the observer. In such cases, opposition is an element in the relation itself; it is intrinsically interwoven with the other reasons for the relation's existence. It is not only a *means* for preserving the relation but one of the concrete functions which actually constitute it.[7]

In raising conflict to this level of sociological respectability, Simmel finally acknowledged that "Relations of conflict do not by themselves produce a social structure, but only in co-operation with unifying forces. Only both together constitute the group as a concrete, living unit." [8]

In summary, we may grant Simmel at least part of his due by recognizing that conflict may test a relationship. It may stimulate greater effort toward the solution of a problem and therefore in the long run play a part in the emergence of social structure, which makes for unity. In the short run, though, conflict is a disruptive process in which the opponent is identified, attacked, and degraded. If the conflict goes to the point of annihilation or of reducing the opponent to inactivity, it is disrup-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
2 Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Kurt H. Wolff, p. 13, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1955.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18. Reprinted by permission.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 19. Reprinted by permission.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

tive whether one takes the short or the long view. Only a play on words (or on ethics) would permit us to view the annihilation of the opponent as a unifying experience. It is apparent from the emotional tinge of our reaction to Simmel's thesis that he was a great theorist who provoked sociologists to avoid easy generalizations and stimulated them to engage in further analysis. Consequently, our very reaction may prove his point!

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Chapter 9

Accommodation and Social Organization

Lowest of the Goods, Highest of the Evils

Compromise is the process, then, whereby each party to a conflict gives up something dear, but not invaluable, in order to get something which is truly invaluable. In the very nature of the case, therefore, compromise is a sacrifice exacted particularly of "good" men, a sacrifice which their very goodness requires but renders odious. One of my undergraduate students has well stated the ambivalence of its incidence by describing compromise as "the lowest of the goods but the highest of the evils of collective life."

It is this creativity of democracy which has led some of its students to object to "compromise" as the term to describe the principle of *accommodation* which it uses. But this is a short-sighted lead, as we have seen. The derogation of the symbol arises from a deprecation of the function. Conscience cannot escape from the corrosion—if it must be held so—of compromise. Only soft-headedness will have it so.

* * *

The social order arises through the process of accommodation. Competition accounts for its share, and so do other social processes; but accommodation underlies much of the complex structure which is society. Conflict is exhausting if not annihilating. The parties who survive a conflict eventually must work out some truce which permits those who remain to function. Accommodation is the process of getting along in spite of differences. It is a way of inventing social arrangements (structure, that is) which enable people to work together whether they like it or not. Arrangements, rules, agreements, treaties, and laws emerge or are enacted to define relationships, rights, obligations, and methods of co-operation. Laws and treaties are the more formal instruments of accommodation. A structure of interdependent roles arises and organizes people in ways which permit them to live and act in spite of personal differences. The end result is a social system with built-in rights and obligations perpetuated through tradition. Norms regulate behavior which, without them, might be hopelessly divergent. The cohesiveness of structure arising through accommodative processes and common goals does not depend on close bonds of feeling but upon necessity and regulation.

"Lowest of the Goods, Highest of the Evils" (Heading is ours) is from T. V. Smith, *The Ethics of Compromise*, pp. 45 and 52, Starr King Press, Boston, 1956.

External and internal aspects of the adjustment

Workers and employers do not abandon industrial warfare and resume negotiations because they have suddenly learned to love one another but because continued fighting would involve one or both sides in too severe losses. The agreement which they reach is a formal, impersonal, and external adjustment to conflict.

Under some circumstances, however, the accommodation may be of a more lasting character, permanently altering the internal life of the group. If, for example, the parties to an agreement recognize each other as equals and if the agreement provides for the satisfaction of many of the interests which were in conflict, those concerned tend to support the new pattern and adjust their way of living in accordance with it even though the liberty of each is limited by so doing. With the exception of their conflict during the Civil War, the various states have been loyal to the Constitution, which is an accommodative document that defines their rights and obligations.

When the gains for both parties are seen clearly enough, it is also possible for manag-

ers and employees to treat each other essentially as equals, as in the following case:

> A New England textile company established in 1845 was faced with the alternatives of liquidation, modernization, or moving operations to the South where labor and other costs were lower. The difficulties of the company were greatly increased by a sixteen-month shutdown as a result of a strike. Until that time, neither management nor employees had anticipated the need for change in manufacturing methods and practices or in traditional attitudes toward each other.
>
> The president of the company stated the problem in these words:
>
> "We had to increase productive efficiency or bust. That meant weavers accustomed to operating two looms had to operate four looms. It meant that management had to install new mechanical aids to help them do the so-called 'impossible.' It meant that wages had to be adjusted upward. But all these things were not enough in themselves for the type of results we needed. After establishing union wage levels and benefits *plus confidence in each other*, something still newer was added. It grew out of mutual trust, frank and constructive criticism of each other and—most important of all—*honesty with ourselves*." [1]
>
> A new climate of relationships having been established, a profit-sharing plan was next devised. Instead of being imposed upon the employees by unilateral decision and action of management, employee understanding and acceptance was first secured through consultation and agreement with their union representatives. . . .
>
> [This case is] . . . cited from among a growing number as evidence that it is possible for the organization commonly referred to as management and that of employees—the union—not only to co-exist and maintain their separate institutional structures and integrity but actually to work together harmoniously and creatively. . . .[2]

Accommodation may also be relatively permanent in its effects upon attitudes and social customs if one group is sufficiently powerful to enforce its unequal decrees. In a caste system in which the accommodation lasts for a long time, the attitudes of members of the stratified groups become adjusted to the arrangement. This implies that accommodation is more than a purely external relationship and has become a conditioning force in shaping the social attitudes of persons.

Four decades ago when Mahatma Gandhi was striving to break both caste restrictions within Indian society and colonial control from without, he found that more potent than the external force of the British Empire was the internal acceptance by his fellow countrymen of a stratified society in which "untouchables" did not themselves think it right to rise to a higher status. His dramatic social change techniques of personal fasting to the point of starvation and of passive resistance were intended as much to awaken the attitudes and desire for equality of his people as to prove to the upper castes and to the outside political power the need to grant freedom to the masses.

Accommodation brings arrangements which permit groups to work together, but it also has the function of shaping attitudes as does all social structure. The dynamics of change are latent or active in every person or group, but the control of "traditional ways" is a stabilizing force of great power. Once processes of change get underway because of world conditions, the influence of dramatic leadership, and the pressure of economic conditions, then the ripple may grow to a wave with considerable speed and extend even to a distant shore. "Nothing is stable in these times," is an often heard remark. Yet even during periods of rapid shift in values and structures of a society, many accommodative relationships remain relatively stable. Anarchy is a theoretical extreme on a continuum, but it seldom, if ever, exists. Complete stability is an extreme at the other end of the line, which is a theoretical but not a real possibility. People move back and forth between the two distant points on the line of behavior, co-operating, fighting, accommodating their divergent interests, stabilizing for awhile even an unequal relationship through elaborate ritual, laws, and an organization of attitudes and values, only to have change come again with fissures appearing in what seemed to have been the most stable patterns. Accommodation is a fascinating process to watch because it shows people moving back and forth on the continuum. Stability and change each have their day, but generally in a mixed sort of way. Following this overview of the process, we now look more closely at its operation.

Types of accommodative social behavior

The co-ordinate relationship. When groups recognize each other as equals, they become accommodated on the basis of a co-ordinate relationship. Neither tries to dominate or subjugate the other, yet each negotiates for a fa-

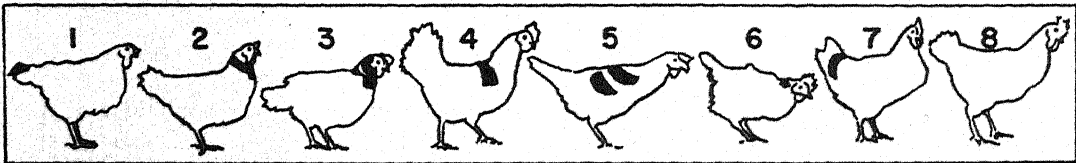
[1] C. A. Wimpfheimer, president American Velvet Co., in *The Textile Engineer*, Summer, 1950.

[2] Clinton S. Golden, "Management-Labor Relations in a Changing Economy," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 274, pp. 175–176, March, 1951. Reprinted by permission.

Competitors develop accommodative relationships with one another and with their customers. There are patterns of control, but each merchant tries to better his position through more attractive stores, marketing methods, and lower prices. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

vorable position when settling differences. The process is one of give and take, calling for adjustments in the interests of all parties. Such is the accommodation made by nations represented at a United Nations conference, by labor unions attending the annual meeting of the federation, by the fifty states whose representatives meet in the Senate, by the board members who assemble to determine corporation policies, or by members of a modern family who are working out their joint budget for the year. The different parties in these relationships expect differences to arise and have developed techniques for settling them without seriously altering the status of the groups involved.

In a democracy, a major portion of all governmental machinery has just this as its purpose. The courts adjust differences between parties who under the law have equal rights, and the legislature with its committees, joint conferences, and special hearings is an arbiter of the many interests held by its citizens. The rules conferences in athletics, denominational meetings in religion, and the trade associations in business serve a similar accommodative function in other phases of our social life.

Subordinate and superordinate relationships. When conflict has resulted in an un-

The peck order. A. M. Guhl of Kansas State College assembled this flock of eight marked Leghorns, and in one hour the superior pecking ability of hen No. One (shown pecking No. Four in top picture) was recognized by each hen. But it took five days of fighting the peck order shown in the bottom drawing. But when No. Eight was injected with male hormones, she fought her way up the social ladder until she had defeated No. One. No conclusions about human stratification may be drawn from the example of chickens, however. (Life; drawing by Gerald Muscott)

equal status between the groups, the forms of accommodation are quite different. An industrialist will refuse to arbitrate with his workers about wages and hours if he has succeeded in crushing their attempts at organization, and they must become accommodated to whatever terms he lays down or else seek other employ-

ment. The defeated nation in a war does not take part in the peace conference on an equal status with the victors. It may plead for mercy when its possessions are divided as spoils, but it has no "rights" in the matter. It must become accommodated to an inferior position and listen to the dictates of others or return to the battlefield.[1]

Accommodation on the basis of inequality results in varying degrees of stratification and segregation. As we shall see, a caste society is a stratified society in which groups have become accommodated to a low or a high position and in which the contacts between the levels are strictly regulated. In the army, officers form a high caste and privates are of low rank:

> The hierarchy of the army is so rigid that it carries over into the social life at an army post. The captain's wife, for example, would not think of including the sergeant's in the list of invitations to a social function any more than a Brahman in India would invite a low caste to dine with him.[2]

A stratified society has two outstanding characteristics. The first is the development of conventions and rules which make movement from one level to another difficult, if not impossible. The second, a subjective expression of the first, is the development of typical attitudes by those occupying the different social levels. In the process of *subordination* the lower group acquires an attitude of deference to authority. They learn "to know their place" and to accept the role which has been defined for them by their superiors. In John Drinkwater's play, *Bird in Hand,*[3] the innkeeper would not consent to his daughter's marrying the son of the lord who occupied the near-by estate because he did not believe in mixing the classes. He had always been a commoner and thought it was not fitting for his daughter to rise to a higher position than that to which she was born. He had become thoroughly accommodated to his subordinate status.

In a similar way, those who become accommodated to a high position through the process of *superordination* express attitudes of assertiveness and dominance. They assume that they have a "right to their position," that it is evidence of their superiority, and that it is natural for them to be served by those of lower estate. That such attitudes become firmly embedded in personality is seen in the tragic disorganization faced by some individuals in our own society who, during the depression, were suddenly catapulted to the other end of the economic scale.

Although there is no paucity of cases of persons and groups in our society who, because of wealth, race, or family position, try to "lord it over" those below them, and although there are many others who have accepted and become accommodated to a low position, yet the movement and social change which are constantly disrupting the status quo are relatively much greater now than has been true in many periods of history. Today those who find themselves in subject positions are more likely, if they become accommodated at all, to consider their unfavorable status only a prelude to a new conflict in which they hope to emerge with power. The prevalent unrest among political, racial, and economic groups clearly reveals the trend of the times. And yet our society is by no means a thoroughly disorganized one. If change is prevalent, so also is adjustment to change and to the social organization whereby the adjustment is stabilized.

Accommodation as a basis of social organization

The maintenance of the status quo, which is the function of accommodation following conflict, requires, as we have seen, social organization. The complex arrangements which developed in medieval society to hold each class in its place and to regulate their interrelation-

1 The Korean truce talks which began in July of 1951 and extended into 1952 were an unusual case—not in point! In this instance, protracted truce meetings were held before either side was victor or vanquished and while the armed combat continued. The unwillingness of either side to give a point in the attempt at accommodation was not surprising. Neither *had* to quit fighting. Neither felt obliged to plead for mercy and for peace. Years after the truce was finally signed, the Military Armistice Commission was still holding an occasional meeting. Its 209th occurred on June 16, 1960, taking place in the joint security area of Panmunjom, which is a buffer zone between North and South Korea as established by the United Nations. Here is a semblance of accommodation framed in the surroundings and atmosphere of conflict. The armed truce continues with occasional meetings such as this one to discuss alleged violations of the armistice.
In recent times the sharp distinction between war and peace is remarkably blurred. The ideologies of Communist Russia and of the "Free World" have come to be regarded by both sides as so radically different as to make their getting along with each other a pleasant dream but a hard-to-achieve reality. Just as the two sides reach agreement on a minor point a major difference breaks out. Even the threat of mutual annihilation through the use of atomic and biological warfare has not put a stop to the "cold" war nor to the threat of a "hot" war. Nevertheless, the prospect of annihilation may yet prove to be a deterrent to global war if not a prelude to peace.

2 Taken from a student's description of life in an army camp.

3 John Drinkwater, *Bird in Hand,* Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1927.

When the shop committee calls on the supervisor (above), grievances may be ironed out through a process of give-and-take which results in an accommodative relationship. In the English class (below), the recent immigrants first become accommodated to the new ways by learning the language and acquiring other tools for getting along. Assimilation requires much more time. (Top, Ewing Galloway; Bottom, Courtesy Board of Education, City of New York)

ships show how attitudes, customs, and institutions become organized as a pattern of social control. The history of our institutional development as a nation is written largely in terms of this process of adjustment. The establishment of a representative system of government

was our method of becoming accommodated to a newly won freedom; subsequent increase in centralized control was an adjustment to new social and economic problems which overreached state boundary lines; the development of a "social security program" was an adjustment to the problems of periodic unemployment, child dependency, and old-age insecurity; and the growth of adult education was a response both to changes in leisure time and to the increasing responsibilities of citizenship. In its broadest outreaches, accommodation includes any adjustment which a person or a group has made to a changed status, and, as such, it is the basis of all social organization. Or as Burgess defines the concept:

> Social organization is the sum total of accommodations to past and present situations. All the social heritages, traditions, sentiments, culture, techniques, are accommodations; they are acquired adjustments that are socially and not biologically transmitted.[1]

Groups become accommodated to each other as well as to their natural habitat. Whenever these relationships are disrupted by the appearance of new factors, there is always a danger of the groups reverting to conflict unless new patterns of accommodation can be discovered quickly.

Accommodation and co-operation

If accommodation is the process of adjustment which enables groups to reach agreement following social change or conflict, if it is the process at the root of formal social organization, then how does this process differ from co-operation?

Although co-operation, accommodation, and assimilation can be considered separately, they are all processes of association in contrast with dissociation. They make for group life, not for isolation. If co-operation is considered the most inclusive and is allowed to stand for all relations in which persons or groups work together toward a common end, then accommodation and assimilation may be considered as representing different stages or degrees in the co-operative process. Or using Lundberg's terms,[2] on a scale measuring *degrees of communication,* conflict and competition would be on the left side where communication was slight; accommodation and assimilation would be on the right side where tensions were reduced and communication ever increasing. In accommodation the barriers have been partially broken down, the social distance lessened, and formal relations established whereby groups can work together; in assimilation the trend toward the fullest co-operation leading finally to identification is much more complete.

TROUBLE ON CAR WILL BE AIRED

Suit Growing Out of Finn's Ejection from Street Car Will Be Heard Tonight

What is expected to result in an interesting hearing will be heard in Squire Jas. A. Watkins' court this evening when a case growing out of some trouble between a conductor on a local car line and a number of foreigners will be aired. The trouble occurred Saturday night near the East Charleroi ferry when a Finn was ejected from the car for refusing to pay his fare. Several of his friends are alleged to have come to his assistance. The foreigners claimed that the man had paid his fare and that the conductor was trying to collect a second one. There is considerable feeling among the participants and an interesting hearing is sure to result. Assault and battery is the charge brought.[3]

Assimilation

"Americans all," is a popular way of referring to the unity which has been partially achieved in a land of great racial and cultural mixture. In family life, in neighborhood contacts, in mobility between social classes, and in many other relationships assimilation is also operative, but the field of immigration and migration has come to be recognized as an area of special interest to the student of this social process. Consider an illustration in which the interaction proceeds from open conflict, to accommodation, to assimilation.[4]

With the passing years the amount of intermarriage between the Finns and other nationalities in Monessen has increased. Finns themselves are conscious of this, and they

1 From Ernest W. Burgess, "Accommodation," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* vol. 1, p. 403. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

2 *See* George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology,* pp. 269–270, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939.

3 Monessen, Pa., *Daily Independent,* Sept. 4, 1907. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

4 The selections above and on page 118 are taken from Toimi Kyllonen, *The Local Newspaper as Helping Form the Conception of an Immigrant Group in the Minds of the General Reading Public,* a Master's thesis, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., 1936.

MONESSEN SUFFRAGE DAY PROVED A GREAT SUCCESS

Fifteen Hundred People Took Part in the Observance and Program Was Well Carried Out

The suffragists of Monessen are very much pleased over the success of the first public suffrage demonstration. . . .

At five o'clock the Finnish people headed by their excellent band of 28 pieces, marched through the streets and on to the appointed corner, followed by a crowd of interested people. It seemed only fit and proper for the Finnish people to open this demonstration because their progressive little country has already demanded equal suffrage and wrested same from the clutches of the Russian bear and for years the women of Finland have worked shoulder to shoulder with the men to secure better conditions for their people and better opportunities and environments for their children.

When these people learned that the progressive men and women of this country were working for the same end here in Pennsylvania, with pride for the example set for this great nation by little Finland and patriotism and loyalty to their adopted country and its interests, they came with their music and their speakers to help and inspire us. This is surely the spirit that builds a great democracy.[1]

* * *

realize that the Finnish-Americans will soon be lost as a group among the larger numbers of heterogeneous, mixed-Americans.[2]

When the Finns first settled in the steel town of Monessen, near Pittsburgh, they had the disillusioning experiences typical of immigrants who are surrounded by an alien culture. The streetcar incident is one of many cited by Kyllonen illustrating how easily conflicts arose at that time between the "foreigners" and the older inhabitants. Another story is reported of a Finnish girl, who, having come to Monessen to join her "old-country" lover, found that he no longer wanted her. Stranded in a strange country without friends, finances, or a knowledge of the language, she suffered the disorganization of an isolated person.[3] Another case is cited by a Finnish home owner who came into conflict with the "law" because he thought the city officials discriminated against him and his countrymen.[4]

1 *Ibid.*, May 4, 1914.
2 Kyllonen, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 49 f.

Such conflicts between groups of different culture decline as the processes of accommodation and assimilation become operative. Gradually the Finns were adjusted to their new environment, learned how its politics operated, acquired enough English to get along at the mill, and joined the community's benevolent and insurance associations.[5] When the second item quoted appeared in the newspaper, they were so much a part of the common life that their Louhi band was invited to lead the suffragists' parade, and symbols from their "old-country" traditions became a part of the common cause of women's rights. According to the concluding quotation from the author's summary, assimilation to the new culture had gone so far that the newcomers were already losing their identity and merging in the life of the larger community.

In greatly abridged form, these illustrations show a group moving through the processes of competition and conflict to accommodation and assimilation. In conflict the groups are suspicious of each others' motives and ready to attack at the slightest provocation. In accommodation they have learned how to become adjusted to each other through superficial relationships and at the same time maintain their social distance. But in assimilation the social distance tends to disappear, and the trend toward unity becomes more complete. These basic changes are implied in the following classic definition, by Park and Burgess, of the process:

> Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.[6]

Assimilation as one outcome of social interaction

Merely bringing persons of different backgrounds together does not assure that a fusion of cultures and personalities will result. Investigations of culture contacts indicate that the outcomes often cover a wide range of possibilities. One set of conditions may lead to conflict rather than fusion between the contiguous groups. Under other circumstances, temporary accommodations may be worked out or a

5 *Ibid.*, p. 16.
6 Robert E. Park and Ernest W Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, revised edition, p. 735, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

more permanent adjustment made on the basis of segregation. And in still another case, assimilation is the outcome. Furthermore, these processes may go on concurrently in different phases of the culture, and there may also be a reversal of the sequence as the trend toward assimilation is interrupted by new conflicts or as renewed efforts are made to preserve social distance through accommodation. And, finally, assimilation, itself, may advance through various stages. One can say that the Finns are assimilated to American culture when they are no longer discriminated against socially and economically as "foreigners," and when they participate in the varied social organizations of the community. But unless they actually think and feel "like Americans," respond to the common sentiments and traditions, remain loyal to the larger group when it is in conflict, and become the perpetuators of its customs and institutions, the process of assimilation has stopped short of its final stage.[1]

Factors retarding assimilation

Extreme differences in cultural background as a barrier to assimilation. If there are no common elements in the two cultures, the groups may remain near each other physically but far apart socially. They may struggle for supremacy in intermittent conflict; or one group may suffer disorganization through its inability to make an adjustment to the conflict. This last has frequently been the result of the white man's attempt to "Westernize" primitive peoples. Edwin R. Embree once recounted an experience with the Samoans in which a native chief rejected the offer of an American Commission to establish modern schools in his villages because of his fear of the outcome.

> "Your tools of wisdom," he said, "should be of great benefit to primitive people if they were presented and accepted simply as tools. But somehow they are not. Instead of helping us, instead of strengthening and magnifying our lives, all contact with the industrial nations simply destroys us. I don't think you mean to destroy us. I don't hold with those who say you are terrible vampire people who stalk up and down the earth determined to kill everything and everybody before you. The Americans whom I know are for the most part kindly people. Anyway you are not devils. You naturally want money and power but I don't think you love to kill and destroy. Yet you do destroy native people everywhere you go. You kill all their pride and self-respect. You leave them gibbering before your mechanical gods, not understanding the mechanics but worshipping the godhead, abandoning their own ways and ignominiously crawling toward a blind imitation of your ways."[2]

In this case, it seems apparent that as long as the cultures were from such different worlds and as long as the dominating group could see no value in the other's heritage, any attempt at a mixing of the two would be a one-sided process resulting in the disorganization of the borrower.

Prejudice as a barrier to assimilation. Prejudice is the attitude on which segregation depends for its success. As long as the dominant group pre-judges those who have been set apart, neither they as a group nor their individual members can easily become assimilated to the general culture. Prejudice also impedes assimilation between constituent elements within a given society. Religious groups often allow the social distance created by prejudice to maintain their separateness when both would benefit by a co-operative effort in community undertakings. Prejudicial attitudes based on a few unpleasant experiences may perpetuate town and country conflicts long after other factors are propitious for an integrated community. Prejudice within a community, within a family, or within any group plays into the hands of factions who prefer disunity to a fusion of interests.

We know now that prejudice, when analyzed more basically, appears not as an elemental factor in itself but as the expression of a general defense reaction of one group in its efforts to keep itself intact from the economic competition or the cultural influences of another.

That prejudices are often a function of economic competition is beautifully illustrated in the change of attitude toward the Chinese in California.[3] During the gold-rush days, Chinese immigrants were not only welcome for their domestic labor but were highly regarded. They were praised as excellent workers, sober, thrifty, law-abiding, and adapt-

[1] "Delayed Pilgrims" is the friendly label frequently given "displaced persons" who have been coming to this country in large numbers since the close of World War II. Their more speedy acceptance in community life than that of many earlier immigrants is no accident. The State Department insists that families have local sponsors before entry. Churches and other community organizations help many family groups secure sponsors and in other ways aid in their relocation.

[2] Edwin R. Embree, "Samoa Offers an Exchange," *Social Forces,* vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 567, 568, May, 1933. Reprinted by permission of the University of North Carolina Press, publishers.

[3] B. Shrieke, *Alien Americans,* Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1936.

able. But in the 1860's, when the economic picture had changed, the Chinese were looked upon as competitors. Now they were spoken of as poor workers, deceitful, criminal, vicious, debased, filthy, clannish, "a distinct people," and "unassimilable." Obviously it was not the Chinese character that had changed but the stereotyped prejudgment of the Californians which had behind it the fear of economic competition.

When other cases are analyzed, such as the prejudice of some in our country toward the Japanese, the attitudes of white groups toward the Negro, the discrimination shown certain European immigrants, and the hostile attitudes held by some toward the Jews, we generally find that prejudicial attitudes are the immediate reason for retarding assimilation, but that back of these attitudes are other factors, including fear of losing a superior social status, dread of economic competition, or some form of a collective phobia. Not all prejudice is negative, however. When groups prejudge one another with unusually favorable attitudes, the process of assimilation is speeded, just as it is retarded by negative attitudes.

Physical differences as a barrier to assimilation. People do not inherit a negative reaction to differences in physical appearance, but they do employ this label as a means of making their discrimination effective. It is easy to eliminate a set of people from competition or place them apart as culturally undesirable if every member of the group can be identified, no matter where he is, by the color of his skin or some other physical feature.[1] After a time the habit of discriminating against all who bear these marks becomes so ingrained in the folkways of a people that the physical traits themselves constitute a barrier after the original reason for segregation has disappeared. This is Park's explanation of the social distance which still holds the Negro at arm's length from white society.

> In a vast, varied cosmopolitan society such as exists in America, the chief obstacle to assimilation seems to be not cultural differences but physical traits. . . . The Negro, during his three hundred years in this country, has not been assimilated. This is not because he has preserved in America a foreign culture and an alien tradition, for with the exceptions of the Indian and the Appalachian mountaineer no man in America is so entirely native to the soil. . . . To say that the Negro is not assimilated means no more than to say that he is still regarded as in some sense a stranger, a representative of an alien race.[2]

When physical barriers prevent assimilation, members of the different groups may live together in a sort of *symbiotic relationship.* That is to say, they exist side by side, even become accommodated to each other in superficial ways, but remain discrete entities, never really members of a common life.

Factors conducive to assimilation

Logically, the absence of the hindrances to assimilation should create a situation in which the process would function. But that is a negative way of putting it. Stated positively, assimilation is speeded by all factors and conditions which favor social contacts and participation in the common social and cultural life. When the majority group is itself secure and hospitable to differences, the immigrant groups, for example, have a greater opportunity to mingle and participate in the total community life.

For immigrant groups, public education has played a prominent role in providing culture contact. But public education is not enough. Equal economic and social opportunity are also required. This is well illustrated in the following personal account:

> In our city the factories and the immigrant laboring groups are all on one side of the tracks, and the managers, professional and business people all live on the other side. I've never known a place where the cleavage was as sharp. You can imagine, then, what happened when an Italian family moved into our rather nice neighborhood. Quite a few of my neighbors were up in arms and wanted to take some kind of action to "drive" the upstart Italian family back to the other side of the tracks.
>
> A day or two later, I happened to see Mr. C., the Italian in question, on the train going into the city. I went over to his seat and said, "I understand you have moved into my neighborhood." Mr. C. turned white, fear in his eyes. Then I continued, "Well, I want to welcome you as a neighbor," and extended my hand.
>
> You should have seen Mr. C.'s face relax. Tears came to his eyes. He invited me to sit down with him and proceeded to talk.
>
> "I know how some of the people feel. But, I'll tell you why I made this move. I came over to this country when I was nineteen and I have done all

[1] *Cf.* the more complete analysis of the physical basis of prejudice as applied to race relations in Chapter Thirteen.

[2] From Robert E. Park, "Assimilation, Social," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* vol. 2, p. 282. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

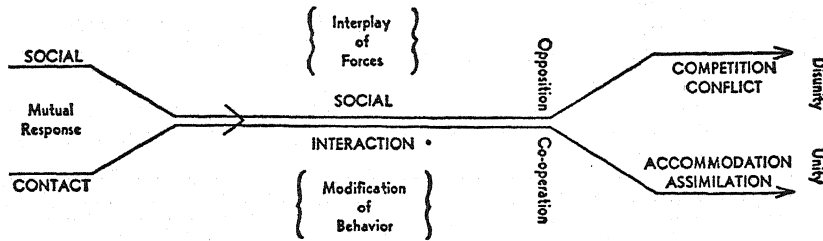



Diagram prepared by Frederick B. Parker

SOCIAL INTERACTION.

right. I have no complaints. America has met all my expectations and I love her. As far as I am personally concerned, I would just as soon have stayed on the east side. I have many friends there, had my own home, and personally I could have been very content. But my children! They're getting along into high school now. I knew that if they stayed on the other side, they would not have the chance to become full Americans. I wanted them to have a chance not only to go to school with the regular American kids, but also to live with them, play with them, and associate with them. I knew that was the only way they'd ever be able to take their place as full-fledged Americans."

Mr. C. was not a sociologist but he understood very well that the most basic condition for full assimilation is the opportunity for full participation in American social and cultural life. Physical proximity does not necessarily eliminate social distance, but Mr. C. was hoping that if his children also attended the same school, they might be included eventually in the neighborhood life of the older families.

Summary

In this section, accommodation and assimilation have been presented as the two organizing and unifying processes in social interaction or as two stages on the scale leading toward co-operation and social unity. Agreements between competitors which were earlier described as a feeble beginning in co-operation can now be referred to as "accommodation" of opposing interests, and the thoroughgoing forms of co-operation found in the primary relations of family life can be referred to as processes of interpenetration or assimilation, the last stage on the scale toward identification or unity.

We learned that *competition* is unconscious, impersonal, and continuous. *Conflict* is the personalized form of opposition which separates and redefines the relative status of diverse groups while at the same time it cements into closer unity the members within a group. *Accommodation,* in that it characterizes the more formal types of co-operation, is the process underlying most social organization; it is the process by which those once in conflict can work together in common enterprises. *Assimilation* proceeds further toward social unity by bringing personalities and culture into such intimate association that an interpenetration or mutual influencing results. Although these processes frequently appear in the above sequence, one form may revert to another, creating different sequences and combinations; that is to say, different phases of group behavior may advance to different stages in the direction of association or dissociation. In fact, all processes may be operating at once in a complex society.

Now that we have become acquainted with the basic processes of interaction, we are prepared to observe their operation within and between the various kinds of groups we are about to consider.

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Part IV

Human Collectivities

Chapter 10

Groups and Small Group Research

Degrees Presented By Wives

The Co-Wed Wives Club presented Mrs. Ben Morrison and Mrs. Lofell Fitzgerald their "PHTS" degrees at its recent graduation luncheon in the Civic Room of the Driskill Hotel.

The floral centerpiece of red and white carnations, the club's traditional colors, was arranged by Mrs. Kenneth Fields.

Future meetings of the club, beginning June 14, will be held in the Board of Directors Room in the Capital National Bank, Seventh and Colorado.[1]

New Times—New Groups

Bill Henderson walked briskly home from his engineering final, the last of his college career. Thumping up the steps to the garage apartment, he opened the door and shouted, "Marcy, we've done it. The final was a breeze. It's all over!"

Marcy ran into the living room. "Great, darling! Really great! Now we'll have two whole weeks before your job starts. I'll want to get some packing boxes and—oh, Bill, you do remember you're to keep the baby tomorrow night, don't you?"

Bill puzzled for a moment. "Keep Sandy? Whatever—oh yes, the Co-Weds."

Marcy mocked him, smiling. "Oh, yes, the Co-Weds. I graduate too, you know. By tomorrow I shall be the proud possessor of my 'PHTS' degree."

Bill put an arm around Marcy. "Honey, that's a well-deserved 'Putting Hubby Through School' degree. Without your working and all your help we'd never have made it."

That scene, with variations, is being repeated on many college campuses. The influx of married men into the college mainstream has created an entirely new group, the college wives. A few years ago many of these women did not belong; they were non-students and thus not part of college activities—student wives, but not a part of community life. Several ingenious wives thought of organizing a club composed mainly of those women who were working in order that their husbands could earn degrees.

Now there are a number of such organizations, ranging from the country-wide group, the National Association of University Dames, to the smaller campus groups of wives of men in particular colleges, such as fine arts or law. New circumstances of living and common interests underlie the group structure, no matter what its name; and traditions such as special "days" on campus, set meeting times, club colors and the awarding of "Putting Hubby Through School" degrees have become a part of the pattern.

* * *

If sociology is ". . . a study of the structure and functioning of social systems—that is, relatively enduring systems of action shared by groups of people, large or small,"[2] then we must look long and intently at this "structure." Eventually, however, there is no harm in glancing at the people and the groups who follow the patterned ways. Culture is a reality, but so also are the people whose social roles it defines.

The "Co-Wed Wives Club" shows social structure in the making. The institutional ways of colleges and universities paid little heed to

[1] *The Austin Statesman*, June 7, 1960, p. 7.

"New Times—New Groups" was prepared by Bert Kruger Smith, The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

[2] Alex Inkeles, "Personality and Social Structure," in *Sociology Today*, edited by Robert Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell (under the auspices of the American Sociological Society), p. 250, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1959.

wives a decade or two ago. In fact, marriage was prohibited during undergraduate days on many campuses. With World War II and the Korean War came new factors which were to alter the pattern. Service men, some already married, wanted to complete their education. A national trend toward earlier marriages and earlier child-rearing invaded the campus. Whether formerly servicemen or not, many students brought their wives and children with them or acquired them during the four-year course. Though most are still unmarried, the percentage of married students has risen sharply.

One of the first cracks in the structure of collegiate conservatism was the reluctant acknowledgment that the college or university might have some responsibility to provide housing for married students. The first housing was war surplus, shack-like, but now college trustees are not surprised or resistant when their architect draws into a master plan, permanent apartment buildings for married students. Many subsidiary institutional ways have been invented to meet the new need. Second-hand furniture marts near the campus help a couple acquire or dispose of their belongings as they enter or leave the "student housing project." Equipment and space for co-operative nursery schools and kindergartens are provided. The beginnings of self-government in some family housing areas have arisen.

The dynamic forces in these changes were embodied in people. Delegations of married students called upon administrators to "do something about housing." On the social side, co-wed clubs arose. Increasingly, wives joining these clubs will find the structured ways well established, though a short time ago there were none. People with common interests and needs do not hesitate to strike out on their own if new conditions cause old patterns to be inadequate. And then, as though to prove the point that the pendulum keeps swinging, Margaret Mead, the anthropologist whose articles appear in as many popular magazines as learned journals, laments the trend toward early marriages.[1] She thinks that the nation's current "pursuit of excellence" will be handicapped if young people assume domestic responsibilities so early that they cannot complete their education. Or, even if they do continue in school, she makes a plea for leisure for intellectual reflection and creative thought as opposed to time away from studies filled with domestic chores.

Do the new artifacts, such as university housing for families, really add inducement to early marriage? Also, does family responsibility necessarily deter the student from high intellectual pursuit on a college campus? We can argue pro and con, but factors more basic and dynamic than argument will determine whether colleges return to the old times of single bliss or accept the union of scholarly and family pursuits for some of their students, especially at the graduate level. This discussion has led us slightly astray. The point of the opening illustration was not to discuss early marriage but merely to show *social structure* aborning, and the Co-Wed Club does this very well.

Chapters Two and Three kept close to social structure. The present chapter will never lose sight of its force in shaping human conduct. Nevertheless, we shall now concentrate on the people interacting to achieve a common purpose. They are the dynamic aspect of society. They are the creators of new structure as well as the carriers of the old. Before starting, however, let us distinguish two kinds of collectivities which are not groups, even though they are sometimes so labeled.

Aggregates and categories

The aggregate

The first such collectivity is an aggregate—that is, a number of persons who are geographically together but who are not in interaction. The individuals in an aggregate are in physical proximity, but they are not a group. However, aggregates can become groups. Fifty people may be waiting at a street corner for a red light to change. The heat of the mid-day sun is terrific. One lady swoons and drops to the sidewalk in a faint. People forget the green light, cluster around the woman, start talking to one another, give suggestions, orders. One is asked to call the police, another, an ambulance. An aggregate of individuals has begun to interact around a common interest and, in so doing, has become a group, if only for a brief time.

Mass transportation and concentrated living in cities make for many aggregates. Well over a hundred persons may stand in line ready to

[1] *See* Margaret Mead, "A New Look at Early Marriages," *U. S. News and World Report,* vol. 49, pp. 80–86, June 6, 1960.

board a transcontinental jet liner. There is a minimum of interaction. Their behavior does follow the customs of the airline about ticket validation. They board the plane when it is announced and follow a prescribed seating arrangement, but for the most part, each person is a world unto himself. Seat-mates may strike up a conversation, but most of the passengers do not recognize one another when they meet in the waiting room after debarkation. Like any aggregate, they could become a group with interaction and a common focus of attention if the threat of an accident or some other common experience occurred.

The category

Another collectivity to be distinguished from a group is the *social category*. The people themselves are not especially aware of their category membership nor of their category mates. For example, the government census places us all in many different pigeon holes, letting us become a statistic without our knowing it. We may be in the category of newcomers, who have lived in a certain census tract less than one year. This fact, of course, has some bearing on our social behavior. Still it is not like group membership; neither is it like the transitory oneness of a crowd. It is simply a social characteristic which we share with other individuals. All bald-headed men constitute a category. So do all short people, or all who suffer from hayfever. Nevertheless, as we indicated, being in a category can make a difference in social behavior. For example, the hayfever sufferer becomes more alert when a conversation arises about allergy remedies. He may take allergen shots or he may undergo psychotherapy. He may influence his family to plan the vacation in a pollen-free spot. He is almost certain to read allergy articles in the medical section of his weekly news magazine. A physiological condition brings on these social consequences. And yet, hayfever sufferers are not a group. Some of them might become a group if they considered that an organized effort would cause the city to cut all ragweed in its vacant lots or to require more effective pollen filters in all air conditioning units. As in the case of aggregates, categories are not groups, but they can become groups with just a few ingredients added. Now we turn from these nonsocial aggregates to the social group. What is it like? How did it come about? What are its types?

Everyone in the field has his turn in defining the concept *social group*. The definitions have much in common, but there is a difference. All agree that social contact and interaction are essential. They imply or state that such interaction is based upon a common interest—some call it a goal. From that point, wider divergence begins. Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian state:

> A group always consists of people who are in interaction and whose interaction is affected by some sense that they constitute a unit. This latter sense is most universally expressed in the members' concern to define the "group's opinion" and what the "group expects" of its members. Thus, the operation of some kind of group norms is a crucial feature of interaction.[1]

Under this broad concept of a group, Turner and Killian include such temporary and amorphous entities as crowds and publics.

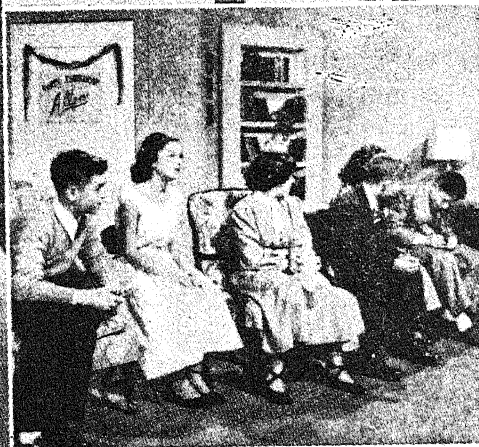
In his brief analysis of *The Small Group*, Michael S. Olmsted says:

> A group, then, may be defined as a plurality of individuals who are in contact with one another, who take one another into account, and who are aware of some significant commonality.[2]

John W. Bennet and Melvin M. Tumin add another element to the definition when they say that a group is ". . . 'a number of people in definable and persisting interaction directed toward common goals and using agreed-upon means'."[3] The qualification *persisting interaction* would suggest that not every fly-by-day *crowd* is a group. The sophistication implied by their other qualification, *using agreed upon means*, again would rule out casual associations where there was some interaction and focus of attention but no persisting interaction nor agreed upon means.

One can pay for his textbook and take his choice. There is no controversy, merely a difference in a broad or narrow use of a term. As long as any one author knows what he is talking about—and equally important, that his readers do—then he can proceed to use a concept in analyzing social phenomena. We shall use *social group* in its broad meaning, which sets as the minimum criteria *social interaction* and *common purpose*.

1 Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior* p. 12, © 1957, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Reprinted by permission.
2 Michael S. Olmsted, *The Small Group*, p. 21, Random House, Inc., (SS16), New York, 1959.
3 John W. Bennet and Melvin M. Tumin, *Social Life*, p. 164, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1952.

Groups, groups—everywhere we go we see groups. Group life is an inescapable part of all things human. And how varied the types of groups, as we have already seen and as we see here! (Top, From the Kodak Colorama, Grand Central Terminal, New York City; Bottom left and middle right, Courtesy Standard Oil Company of New Jersey)

Why group life?

The fact that we find groups everywhere, and that they seem to multiply spontaneously wherever there are human beings, led sociologists in early days to assume that they must be the direct outgrowth of some social in-

Even skill training in vocational and other kinds of education is carried on in groups. (Top left, Courtesy U. S. Navy; Top right, Ewing Galloway; Bottom, courtesy Illinois Training School for Boys)

stinct or herding propensity that was fixed in original nature. At present, this explanation is too simple. It is based essentially on the false assumption that a universal trait must necessarily be an instinctive one, and it also involves circular reasoning. Groups are everywhere—therefore they must be the result of an instinct for group formation—there-

fore a group-forming instinct explains why groups are everywhere. Such statements really do not *explain* at all. They are like the tutor's reply in Moliere's famous comedy to the question, "Why does opium put people to sleep?" "Ah, opium puts people to sleep because it has dormative power."

It is clear that most groups as we see them today are based on the shared habits, ideas, attitudes, and motives that are developed in individuals through socialization. Groups and group-forming are, in other words, largely a matter of socially transmitted tradition. The young are born into a society, and, as we saw earlier, the very process of becoming human is at the same time one of becoming a member of already existing human groups. One learns the art of co-operation in the family and in playgroups that are sponsored by elders. Later one joins or forms other groups to co-operate in achieving satisfaction of other wishes and organic needs.

But of course this does not tell us how or why the habit of group living got started. It does not explain why a set of desert island castaways with complete amnesia for all previous culture would still, in all probability, form groups.

Sociologists have wondered what the first or primal group was like. Was it a *band* or *horde*, or was it a *family* group? We do not know, but the inclination at present is to think that it must have been the family.[1]

Some have thought that group living was a chance discovery which was continued because it proved to have survival value. But the more we learn, the less reason we have to assume that individuals existed prior to groups. In Chapter Two we discussed the importance of the group for the sheer survival of its individual members—and certainly for the survival of the offspring. It is like the old problem of the hen and the egg—which came first? We can't conceive of the existence of one without the other's preceding it. Similarly, we cannot conceive of individuals who come into being and survive without a prior group, nor can we conceive of the existence of a group without having individuals to compose it.

The best we can do is to begin with both individuals and groups. From there on, we can understand the interactive relationship. Specific group structures, whether of societies or the many smaller groups, become a part of each cultural stream, handed down with minor modifications from one generation to another. The children who are born into the culture do not question the group customs which control them, any more than they question the physical environment which limits their activity. They follow the ways of the group because they have experienced no others and because these are the only known means of satisfying their desires as individuals.

As specific patterns of group association are developed, they are maintained as a means of satisfying the similar needs of individuals brought up in a culture. That is, groups help to create the needs and expectations of individual persons which can be satisfied by the particular kind of group life which helped to create them. Edward Sapir, in studying the problem from the viewpoint of an anthropologist, emphasized this *common interest* basis of group life:

> Any group is constituted by the fact that there is some interest which holds its members together. The community of interest may range from a passing event which assembles people in a momentary aggregate to a relatively permanent functional interest which creates and maintains a cohesive unit.[1]

Of course, culture is not the sole producer of common interests. As we have noted before, the common original nature needs also have something to do with the development of common interests.

Furthermore, man is not only a social conformist but also a rebel. Corporate life—that is, group life—implies regulation, control of individual behavior. Although a person cannot live without society he sometimes resents and tries to avoid its control. The freedom of the desert island appeals to many a daydreamer. The social irresponsibility of the vacationist in a strange land, the freedom of the hardened criminal from social constraint, and the relief one finds in the solitude of a mountain retreat give evidence of the not uncommon desire to escape social bonds. That

[1] In our present state of knowledge it is, of course, possible still to hold that the primal human group was the nonfamilial horde. C. S. Carpenter ("Societies of Monkeys and Apes," *Biological Symposia*, vol. 8, pp. 177–204) finds such a group to be the basic unit among howler and spider monkeys and macaques. However, it still seems more likely that the type of familial social organization found among Zuckerman's baboons (*The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes*), Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1932) and among gibbons (Carpenter, *op. cit.*, is more prototypal for human beings.

[2] From Edward Sapir, "Groups," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 7, p. 179. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

this individualistic tendency is only relative is indicated by the fact that the criminal needs gang support to protect him from the law, the vacationist returns to civilization, and Robinson Crusoe welcomes the coming of his man Friday. Although man occasionally rebels, fundamentally he remains social, for otherwise life itself, as well as the attainment of its more subtle satisfactions, would be impossible.

The occasions for group action are so numerous that a complete list is impossible, but Pitirim Sorokin has summarized a few of the more common situations in which individuals pool their interests and become members of a social group.

1) Physiological kinship and community of blood or origin from the same physical or mystical (totemic) ancestors.
2) Marriage.
3) Similarity in religious and magical beliefs and rites.
4) Similarity in native language and mores.
5) Common possession and utilization of land.
6) Territorial proximity (neighborliness).
7) Common responsibility (sometimes imposed by other groups) for the maintenance of order, payment of taxes, etc., and common acquisition of certain privileges.
8) Community of occupational interests.
9) Community of various types of economic interests.
10) Subjection to the same lord.
11) Attachment, either free or compulsory, to the same social institution or agency of social service and social control, such as the same police or political center, school, temple, and church, trade agency, military authority, election bureau, hospital, or any one of the various other agencies.
12) Common defense against a common enemy or common dangers.
13) Mutual aid.
14) General living, experiencing, and acting together.[1]

The common interests underlying these groups are more apparent for some than for others, but in each group there is some advantage (immediate or long-term) to the individual members in the association. If there were not, the group would long since have ceased to exist.

The nature of the group

An argument as persistent and almost as futile as the aforementioned one about the priority of the hen or the egg, has exercised some sociologists over the question as to whether the group is an independent entity in itself or simply the aggregate of its members. To those for whom it has separate existence such terms as "group mind," "group will," "esprit de corps," "culture-soul," "collective representations," and the like are literal descriptions of something very real. However, to the skeptics who aver that "group" is merely a convenient term for describing the joint action of individuals, the group has no existence apart from persons, the behavior of a group is nothing more than the sum of the behavior of its members, and the whole is merely equal to the sum of its parts.

As so often happens when protagonists appeal for support, the sociologists found on looking for guidance to their learned colleagues, the philosophers, that they are likewise divided on the issue and have indeed taken both sides for centuries with no little emphasis and ofttimes with recrimination. Substituting philosophical for sociological jargon, one school of professional reasoners holds that any general or universal concept is merely a name having no real existence. These *individualists* or *nominalists* would think of "group," "society," or "community" as fictions of the mind corresponding to nothing that actually exists. To them the real thing is the individual, and society is merely a number of individuals.

The philosophical terms for the opposing view are *realism*, *universalism*, *collectivism*, and *organism*. For the French sociologist, Durkheim, there was no doubt that the social whole, the group, or the society, was greater than the sum of its individual parts. He thought of the group as possessing a life history of its own, as having a tradition, an esprit de corps, and a set of symbols which stood for the collective as distinguished from the individual experiences of the group's members.

Fortunately, in this animated discussion, a sociologist can find a fairly satisfactory middle ground. Zimmerman has pointed out that a society should not be thought of as a real "group person" having a "group mind," nor is it solely an aggregate of individual behavior. Rather, it should be conceived as a set of *culture consistencies*—common patterns of interaction—which carry on from year to year[2] and constitute a stable factor in interaction. This is the structure.

[1] Pitirim Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, editors, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, vol. 1, pp. 307, 308, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1930. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[2] Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, pp. 153, 154, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1938.

The structure may be studied directly; trends in culture may be investigated; and the "collective representations" of group action may be analyzed. While attention is given to these collective aspects of human behavior, the fact is not lost sight of that in the last analysis group life can only be perpetuated through the behavior of individuals. Cooley has synthesized the two approaches even more closely by showing that the individual and society are but different aspects of the same thing, two sides of the same coin. The person and the group are not identical but they are coexistent and interrelated.

Behavior of a group

Interaction of persons in a group

In conceiving of persons associated in a *common enterprise,* we should not think of them as soldiers lined side by side marching as regimented units toward a predetermined objective. A social group does not act with that precision and singleness of mind. In group action, more than in military campaigns, deserters drop out along the way, new leaders contest for command, divergent ideas are expressed about objectives and how to reach them. By the time a goal is attained it is not the same as the original idea any one person may have had. The line of march, conceived as an orderly course, often looks in retrospect like the wanderings of a lost people.

Park and Burgess put it this way: "However we may conceive the relation of the parts of society to the whole, society is not a mere physical aggregation and not a mere mathematical or statistical unit." [1] Society, or any group, is rather an *interrelationship of persons.* From a distance they seem to be moving steadily toward a common goal, but from near at hand it is apparent that the movement is halting, less direct. The members quarrel, help one another, divide responsibility, shirk duties, punish those who cause too much trouble, and move on one step closer to economic security, salvation, or whatever it is they want. In a social group there is constant movement and striving—an interplay of personalities. It is not follow-the-leader, sheeplike action, nor is it side-by-side, military march; *the group is a moving unit of interacting personalities* [2] who behave in a different manner toward themselves than toward outsiders (that is, members of a group have a "sense of belonging" or a "we-attitude") and whose activity as members of the group is directed toward common objectives.

Group integration, participation, and morale

The integration or solidarity of a group is largely dependent upon the *frequency,* the *variety,* and the *emotional quality* of the interactions of its members. When a family, a boys' gang, a college fraternity, or a religious group is closely unified, it is usually because the members are related by *several common interests;* they have *frequent social contact* with one another, and the emotional quality of their interaction expresses *a high degree of morale,* of loyalty, and of enthusiasm. Group integration developed without planning in primitive societies because persons were born into family and clan relationships which encompassed all of their social experience, but in the more specialized and segmentary contacts of modern life, unity is maintained more often by conscious effort.

In general, morale or emotional unity seems to be highest when (1) the members feel that the preservation of the group is of vital importance to their personal welfare, when (2) each has a sense of sharing in the achievement of its objectives, when (3) the relations of the members are intimate and personal so that words of encouragement and praise flow freely from one to another, when (4) the group's objective is not too easily attained but calls for the exercise of concerted effort, when (5) the common interests of the group are symbolized for the members in the appealing forms of music, ritual, distinctive names, titles, banners, slogans, insignia,[3] and when (6) the members are made aware of the significance and superiority of their group through acquaintance with the glorified tradition of its achievements. These elements are present naturally in primitive groups and in modern groups which have developed slowly over a period of time, but in more artificially constituted organizations, leaders become

[1] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology,* p. 161, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[2] We have here applied to the group in general the idea of the family developed by Ernest W. Burgess and presented in his article, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family,* vol. 7, pp. 1–9, March, 1926.

[3] The role of humor has also received attention. *See* Alvin H. Scaff, "Humor and Morale in Internment Camps," in *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society,* 1949, pp. 23–28, published as vol. 17, Research Studies of the Washington State University, March, 1949.

skilled in hastening the emergence of group loyalty. One may study the integration of any group in terms of the three characteristics of its interaction which have been mentioned—the frequency with which the members associate for a common purpose, the range or variety of their common interests, and, of special significance, the morale and emotional quality of their interaction.

The structure of a group

Social structure denotes simply the more stable aspects of group life—the framework which gives form to its organization. These structural aspects of a group's interaction are the more or less standardized responses to meeting the functional prerequisites discussed in Chapter Two. They include (1) some plan (not always thought out deliberately) of dividing responsibility among various functionaries, (2) some means of introducing new members into the group and transmitting to them its traditions and ideals, (3) some means (folkways, mores, laws, and institutions) of standardizing the behavior of the members, especially with reference to the central interests or common objectives, and (4) some provision for the maintenance of meaning and purpose.

The process of institutionalization. In the intimate friendship group there is little need for elaborate social structure because its members are bound by a personal loyalty which is stimulated by their common interests and frequent contact. But as the size of a group increases and as its membership becomes dispersed, the regulative power of personal attitudes is considerably diluted. For its own preservation the group develops means of facilitating indirect contacts and of controlling the behavior of its members through standard patterns, in the form of rules, laws, official customs, and ritual and through such special techniques as the establishment of a central headquarters with executive officers, official publications, and annual meetings. The standardizing forces of functionaries, buildings, and procedures for selecting and initiating new members all tend to formalize and make permanent a particular pattern of social relations.

We say that a group with these characteristics is *institutionalized.* This means simply that the tendency toward stability is concretely expressed through well-developed and interrelated behavior patterns, that is, through institutions, which are passed on from one generation to another. The terms "group" and "institution" are closely related, but each emphasizes a slightly different aspect of human association. The first connotes *the dynamic, personal elements in association;* the second, *the organized, stable patterns through which the dynamic interests are expressed.* As a *social group* the church is a congregation of persons engaged in common worship and religious activities. As an *institution* it consists of forms of baptism, ordination, dogma, rules, tradition, and official control. These patterns, which become fixed in the habits and sentiments of the members, constitute a social structure by means of which the group life is perpetuated.

Institutions and the mores. Institutions which have developed over a long period of time and are firmly rooted in the group mores are frequently referred to as *crescive,* while those that have come into existence quickly are called *enacted institutions.* This distinction is not altogether valid, however, since all institutions have a life-history and presumably grow out of the folkways and mores or arise during crisis experiences in the group's life. What sometimes appears to be an enacted institution, such as a new governmental agency created "out of the blue" by a legislature or a bureaucrat, upon closer examination, does prove to have antecedent stages in its creation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, for example, was preceded not only by several other federal police agencies, but also by a growing realization among local authorities and citizens generally that high-speed transportation had given the criminal such ease in escape that he could elude officers whose jurisdiction was limited by local boundaries. Furthermore, the tabus against kidnapping and the mores protecting property rights acted as compulsive forces in the enactments which brought the FBI into existence. The real fact is that while institutions do vary in their speed of growth (and because of this some seem more "natural" and others more "artificial") they all have a history rooted in the group's efforts to perpetuate its cherished values.

Institutions and social movements. Those efforts of a society to reorganize itself on a large scale which are known as social movements[1] almost inevitably die a premature

[1] The definition and characteristics of social movements appear in Chapters Twenty-One and Twenty-Two.

death or become institutionalized. If the reform group which initiates the social change continues to win converts and the movement spreads from one community to another, its leaders sense early the need for formal organization to maintain unity. In this manner, the Communist movement in Russia which began as a protest against the status quo, has now settled down to an institutionalized career of its own. It has become the new status quo, convinced of its own permanence. Similarly, almost any upstanding institution of the present day which is proud of its embossed letterhead, official banners, and monumental headquarters can look far back upon a youthful organization enthusiastic about its ideals but undisciplined in its behavior.[1]

One of the most interesting projects in sociology consists in tracing the history of a given group from the early days of its intimate, personal relations to its institutionalized adulthood. The fraternity which began as a friendship group on a single campus and is now a national organization with officers, standard ritual, and formal conventions; the business enterprise which originated through the cooperation of two or three partners and is today a corporation with thousands of employees and stockholders—all are illustrations of the way in which social structure elaborates and becomes more formalized as a group increases in size, complexity, and the impersonality of its contacts. Later when we place groups together in their community setting and deal with the inclusive social organization, we shall analyze further the stabilizing force of the institutionalized features of group life.[2]

Small group research

Sociology texts formerly listed "classifications of groups," but today research findings replace this armchair approach. Much sociological research has centered on the small group. Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif give the reasons for this focus and at the same time point out the danger of generalizing from limited studies:

> Man in modern societies functions in many ingroup and intergroup settings. Some groups are so large and intertwined that it may seem next to impossible to handle them without losing track of the central problem or deviating from scientific methods at some step. Largely for this reason, the study of man in informally organized small groups, which has occupied sociologists for some time, has become a major concern for social psychologists.
>
> This is not the only methodological advantage in studying small, informally organized groups. *We may observe such units in the process of formation.* The rise of group structure and the stabilization of tradition and their effects on individual behavior—in short, the formation of reference groups—can be traced here and now in longitudinal fashion. This process would appear to bring our problem to a greatly simplified level. But observing man in the setting of small in-groups as though these possessed the structural properties of all group settings is not the panacea it was once assumed. Even when brought to the quiet confines of a laboratory, informally organized groups are *parts* of larger group settings and are related to other groups, small and large. Attempts to derive broadly applicable principles for man's behavior in group settings cannot merely *allow for* the operation of the interrelationships of various group settings. Rather the relations among various group settings must be basic in these attempts. . . .
>
> Many formal organizations start as informally organized groups. Several religious sects, for example the Mennonites, Quakers, and Mormons, began as relatively small groups with informal organization. The contemporary society on the isolated isle of Tristan da Cunha began with a small informally organized group of three individuals. One of the early labor movements in the United States, the Order of the Knights of Labor, grew from an informal basis and functioned for twelve years in secrecy. The first cooperative store in England, which marked the beginnings of the cooperative movement during the last century, developed from the informal meetings of twelve unemployed weavers who "met together to discover what they could do to better their industrial condition." [3]

Small groups may be observed "in the process of formation." The Sherifs cited classic examples. Our illustration of the Campus Co-Wed organization is also a case. The emergence of this new group's structure and the development of its traditions were easily visible, whereas the anthropologist[4] can only piece together from circumstantial evidence when and how, for example, the monogamous pattern of marriage developed as the tradition for family life in many societies.

In addition to the Co-Wed groups, many other aspects of modern campus life provide interesting opportunities for student and faculty research. One professor in a large midwestern university encourages graduate and undergraduate students in sociology to ob-

[1] Read about the sequence pattern of a social movement in Chapter Twenty-Two.

[2] Various community types are treated in Chapters Fourteen and Sixteen.

[3] Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, *Groups in Harmony and Tension*, p. 190–1, Harper & Brothers, Publishers New York, 1953. Reprinted by permission.

[4] Of course, anthropologists also study contemporary societies.

serve processes of interaction within college groups or nearby high school populations. In 1959, the Social Science Research Council called a conference to review all research which pertains to the culture of the college campus and to its specialized population and their groups. A volume of proceedings includes the papers presented at another conference called by the Hogg Foundation of The University of Texas. The Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation, and others have given grants for studies of "personality development on the college campus" and similar topics related to human factors in higher education. There are, of course, many opportunities for small group research other than on the college campus. Industry has seen the value of analyzing work groups and staff relationships. Governmental agencies have examined their own organization and the interaction of their personnel. Leadership studies frequently use material from small group observation and experimentation.

Research and more research

An annotated bibliography of 584 items, all concerned with behavior of and in small groups, was prepared by A. Paul Hare [1] and others in 1955. The journals have contained many articles since that time, but this is a good base line survey for anyone who wants to examine the theory and the research findings in the field. Hare's book includes the historical background of sociologists' interests in small groups, starting with Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, Charles H. Cooley, and George H. Mead. In reporting later studies, it runs the full gamut from psychologists Fritz Redl and Theodore M. Newcomb, to sociologists Robert F. Bales, and Fred L. Strodtbeck —plus many others.

Early study of primary groups

Charles Horton Cooley anticipated by many decades modern research on small groups in his *Social Organization*.[2] He is the sociologist who made famous the concept of the "primary group," which term refers to small groups like the family or the play group, whose members have intimate relationships. The closer emotional involvement in such interaction seems to be the reason for its primacy. Cooley is alleged to have thought that this intimacy was possible only in face-to-face groups. But Ellsworth Faris challenged this prerequisite when he asked:

> But do any groups not face-to-face have the properties of the primary group? There is reason to think so. A kinship group widely scattered in space, communicating only by letter, may be characterized by a common feeling of unity, exhibit "a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole," and be accurately classed as a primary group. A woman student has recorded an experience in which she "fell in love" with a woman author, wrote long letters to her, and was influenced by her profoundly and for many years, although the two had not ever seen each other at the time the account was written. Was not this a primary group? Historic friendships like that of Emerson and Carlyle did not rest on physical presence, nor indeed so originate. Comrades in a cause, if there is *esprit de corps*, often form primary groups independent of spatial separation. These seem to be genuine primary groups.[3]

In any case, and in Cooley's original analysis, the *quality* of the interaction in terms of intimacy and the "we feeling" is the important criterion:

> By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.[4]

The intimate or primary group is to be contrasted with the secondary group. In the latter, relationships are more casual, impersonal, and segmental or fragmentary, as in groups where people do not know each other well. A student body of a large school is a secondary group, but a fraternity or a sorority is almost always a primary group; or at least, within them are cliques which could be so characterized. A class of students may be a primary or a secondary group depending upon the methods of instruction and the quality and amount of interaction. If the setting is that of a formal lecture hall with tests, proc-

[1] A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales (ed.), *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*, pp. 575–661, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1955. *See also* Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics*, Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Illinois, 1960.

[2] Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909.

[3] Ellsworth Faris, "The Primary Group: Essence and Accident," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 38, p. 43, July, 1932. Copyright 1932 by the University of Chicago.

[4] Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

tors, and assigned readings, the group is a secondary one. On the other hand, the members of a small graduate seminar develop personal attitudes and common interests, which continue long after credit is earned for the course.

There is also the quality of importance about a primary group which can never be overlooked. As the Sherifs point out, the type of group we are describing deals with serious matters, of consequence to the individual. As we did earlier, they show how proximity of individuals in an aggregate may or may not lead to group formation:

> Individuals sharing a common fate, say, as married college students of similar background in a housing project or as prisoners of war with diverse backgrounds, may interact and form in interaction all the characteristics of little in-groups in terms of their proximity to one another. But proximity itself is not adequate basis for in-group formation, as thousands of city apartment dwellers who greet neighbors with no more than a passing nod could tell us. Informal groups of more than momentary duration form on the basis of matters of some consequence to the individuals in question. In such a serious situation as a prisoner-of-war camp, early groupings within living units quickly give way to more enduring in-group formations centered around modes of meeting the situations shared in common. Thus in a German prison camp, in-groups arose based on defiance to the Germans (refusal to work), desires to escape, the wish to have it as easy as possible or to gain the favor of the captors.
>
> No matter what the original motives which brought individuals into interaction, once in-group formation begins new motives and goals will arise and may perhaps acquire greater importance than those which were central in bringing the individuals together in the first place. Very often, just being with the in-group becomes a goal in itself. Group association holds many pleasures and opportunities which are impossible in isolation. Since in-groups never function in a vacuum, since they constantly meet new situations and problems, since they operate in relation to other groups and within larger settings, it is hardly surprising that new desires and new goals emerge during in-group functioning which in time may become as vital to individual members as those which drew them together.[1]

Studying groups where they are

In the "natural group" studies of Sherif and others,[2] various techniques are used to make observations without influencing the interaction of the group. Here is Sherif's own description of this delicate process:

> . . . Once a group was selected for study, the observer set about to establish contact and a plausible pretext for his presence in the area. (The real purpose of his presence was explained only to authorities in the area who might justifiably question his presence.) The aim of this process was to bring the group to the observer rather than vice versa. The observer in Area B, for example, observed a bunch of boys associating frequently to play basketball. After ascertaining that this was a regular association, he appeared on the scene with a new basketball, which soon attracted their attention. His pretext for being on the scene was that he needed the exercise to lose some weight.
>
> Gaining rapport with the group while still refraining from becoming a directive factor in their interaction was the most difficult task for the young adults who served as observers, both because of their own attitudes and the attitudes of adolescents toward young adults. Observers were persistently instructed to avoid all critical comments about the group or any of its members, to avoid initiating a line of activity, and in particular to avoid competition for superiority with group members in any of their usual activities.
>
> . . . Observers refrained from writing observations in the presence of the group or in any other way letting them know that they were observing group interaction for purposes of a study. They were instructed to write down observations immediately upon leaving the group. A general outline form and categories of observation appropriate to each phase of the study were provided. It is obvious that the flow of any interaction situation is so complex and compelling that the selectivity of the observer is bound to enter into what he reports. The mode of solution to this problem involved, first, instructions before observation on the specific aspects of interaction which he was to observe at each phase of the study, and second, the use of independent techniques to check his observation on each aspect of study.[3]

Fritz Redl, whose own background includes social science training in this country and psychoanalytic study in Vienna, also observes adolescents in small groups. He has worked with emotionally disturbed and delinquent youth sent to him by agencies in the Detroit area. His "Pioneer House," supported by the Junior League of Detroit, is described in his *Children Who Hate*.[4] Later, Fritz Redl tried

[1] Sherif and Sherif, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–194. Reprinted by permission.

[2] *See also* William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1943. In his study of street corner gangs, Whyte brings out the motives which lead to interaction among boys in similar circumstances; he describes the formation of group structure with its statuses and roles even in this spontaneous type of group; and he shows that group norms arise to regulate behavior of the members effectively.

[3] From an unpublished research report entitled *Self-Radius and Goals of Group Members and Their Age-Mates in Differentiated Sociocultural Settings*, pp. 11–12, by Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif of the Institute of Group Relations at The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1960.

[4] Fritz Redl and David Wineman, *Children Who Hate*, pp. 29–57, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1951. Redl's groups were not exactly "natural" in the sense of Sherif's studies, nor were they "laboratory groups," fed synthetic problems as in the extensive work of Robert R. Blake. They were in-between—boys brought together and then allowed to function in natural ways. For references to the Blake studies, *see* page 137.

Large-scale industrial and social organization calls for attention to decision-making processes. In fact, this is a whole new field of research. (Courtesy Standard Oil Company of New Jersey)

the more difficult task of bringing together on a year-around basis in a residential school in Bethesda, Maryland, a small group of the nation's most difficult cases. The costly project was financed by the National Institute of Mental Health. Redl and his staff had the happy faculty of maintaining scientific respectability in these studies while translating findings for general use. Here is an illustration of his popularizing from basic research:

> For many years I have lived professionally with children so angry that we needed a very special setting to make it possible to live with them at all. They have taught me much about anger, its causes, and effects, for such children are naturally past masters at infuriating those with whom they come in contact. Thus, these children confronted all of us with the necessity of learning to translate our anger into therapeutically effective forms—for to help such children we must learn to match their skill in provoking anger with our ability to control and master the anger they provoke. From my experiences with these children I'd like to draw some lessons that apply to the normal parent of a normal child.[1]

[1] Fritz Redl, "Why Children We Love Make Us Angry," *Parents' Magazine*, vol. 35, pp. 36, 115, February, 1960.

Redl states that the main reason for our anger at the children we love is the heavy emotional investment in them.

Trends of the times—in research

"A trend can be discerned in the history of the experimental studies of small groups," is an observation made by George A. Heise and George A. Miller.[2] These authors note that, "early studies determined that the presence of other people has an effect upon individual performance." [3] They conclude that the trend now ". . . seems to be toward more detailed analysis of the group structure and more interest in the processes of interaction among the members of the group." [4] In the latter type of studies, the group is examined as a unit. It is given a problem to solve; the discussions of the group are recorded; the interaction in differently organized groups is compared, as is also the effectiveness of these groups in coping with various situations.[5] For example, even *where people sit* around a table in a discussion meeting has measurable

[2] George A. Heise and George A. Miller, "Problem Solving by Small Groups Using Various Communication Nets," in Hare, Borgatta, and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 353.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 354.
[5] *Ibid.*, adapted from pages 353–354.

bearing upon interaction. Bernard Steinzor thinks so in a report of such a study:

In one discussion group which held a series of meetings, a participant was observed changing his seat so that he could sit opposite another member with whom he had previously had a verbal altercation. This action seemed to be in line with the notion that interaction among people was not only affected by the content of what was said but by such non-verbal factors as gestures, posture, and more generally the total physical impression the individuals made on each other. Stated another way, one person will be more likely to interact with another if he is in a good position to see what he does as well as to hear him. The following hypothesis may, therefore, be proposed: seating arrangement in a small, face to face group helps to determine the individuals with whom one is likely to interact.

We might state this more concretely in the following way. In a group composed of say ten members, seated in a circular arrangement, Person A will more likely speak following a statement made by Person D who sits five seats away than following a statement by Person B who sits next to him. We would expect this to happen because we think that people respond to many things in an individual other than the ideas he expresses verbally. If a person happens to be in a spatial position which increases the chances of his being more completely observed, the stimulus value of his ideas and statements increases by virtue of that very factor of his greater physical and expressive impact on others. People sitting next to each other in a circle will probably not observe each other as fully as those sitting further away.[1]

Research and skill training in group process

"Group dynamics" is another term which includes a still different type of study of human relations in small groups. Kurt Lewin started this approach in 1945, when he established the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and when he opened the summer training "laboratory" at Gould Academy in Bethel, Maine. Group dynamics, which this approach came to be labeled, is concerned with such matters as group leadership, group standards and values, group atmosphere, the effects of group membership upon the individual, the consequence of one's position within a group, and intergroup relations. "It would not be confined to any limited realm of application, such as social group work, education, or industry, but would explore the functioning of groups wherever they might be found in society."[2] Human relations training laboratories, which seek to combine basic research with practical application of findings, have been established at the University of Michigan (and at Bethel, Maine, where the University of Michigan conducts the summer laboratory formerly operated by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology); in the Southwest by several universities co-operatively;[3] in California; within numerous industrial organizations; and in many other locations and situations.

Emphasis in these centers is placed upon understanding the processes of group interaction. Why are some individuals rejected while others assume roles of leadership? How is a person perceived by others, and how do changes in perception alter behavior—and vice versa? How do outside relationships, such as conflict with another group, alter the interaction of the in-group? How do group purposes and values arise and become changed? How do persons acquire skills which have high or low utility in group relations? These and similar questions guide the work of the "laboratory" as the actual behavior of persons in groups is observed and recorded. In the early days of the summer institute, tape recorders even preserved the "out-of-school" comments of the participants. Since then, the verbal interaction at the luncheon table and during the recreation period is unrecorded, but every word said in a "training session" or other group meeting is on tape. Much or all of it is transcribed to typewritten sheets, analyzed and re-analyzed. Or, teams of judges listen to the playback of the tape and note their observations.

These summer laboratories have been attended by industrialists, social workers, school teachers, nurses, and many other professional persons who seek to understand and increase their own effectiveness and that of others in group life. For decades sociologists have

1 Bernard Steinzor, "The Spatial Factor in Face to Face Discussion Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. 45, p. 552, July, 1950.

2 Dorwin Cartwright, "Some Things Learned: An Evaluative History of the Research Center for Group Dynamics," *The Journal of Social Issues* (Kurt Lewin Memorial Award Issue), Supplement Series, p. 5, 1958.

3 *See* Jane Srygley Mouton, Robert L. Bell, Jr., and Robert R. Blake, "Role Playing Skill and Sociometric Peer Status," *Group Psychotherapy*, vol. 9, pp. 7–17, April, 1956; Joseph A. Olmstead and Robert R. Blake, "The Use of Simulated Groups to Produce Modifications in Judgment," *Journal of Personality*, vol. 23, pp. 335–345, March, 1955; Robert R. Blake and Jane Srygley Mouton, "The Dynamics of Influence and Coercion," *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, vol. 2, pp. 263–274, Spring, 1957; Robert R. Blake and Jane Srygley Mouton, "Group Dynamics in Decision Making," *Petroleum Refiner*, vol. 39, pp. 253–255, May, 1960.

studied the nature of groups, but group dynamics has combined basic research and practical application.

Leaders in a floundering group

Leadership has been a perennial subject whether one is interested in practical affairs of group and community life or in the basic science of human behavior. The emergence of leadership roles in a group is studied under "controlled" conditions in the human relations laboratory. It is also a primary interest for the research workers who study groups in their natural habitat. Investigators want to know how roles are differentiated. Or, who becomes the leader for awhile only to lose his status as someone more competent arises?

In the completely unstructured training group at a summer laboratory, even the reason for the group's being together is not defined for the members. They discuss, interact, *flounder*. Some member of the group suggests why they are there and what they should be doing. Another person disagrees. After several hours or days of casting about for purposes and methods of working together, goals do become established and roles differentiated. The disgruntled one who cannot take this lack of order may leave the group altogether. The person who steps out first as a leader may be accepted or rejected by the others as the group decides where to go. Eventually, firmer purposes and clearer definitions of who is going to do what, emerge. This is how it happens in the artificial atmosphere of a human relations laboratory. It is also how it happens in real life.

Numerous industries prepare their supervisors for more adequate role performance through the use of the various training group techniques. One company conducted training seminars for 1,500 of its middle management personnel. In groups of fifty, they left their jobs for a thirty-day training session located in a hotel remote from all of their usual work responsibilities. There they studied dynamic factors in human behavior, sociometric measurements of interaction in groups, and, more specifically, each person had practice in leading group discussion and in playing other roles in business or community conferences. The company regarded this type of general education about group behavior and skill training in role performance as so valuable that it is carrying on the work for still larger numbers of supervisors at the lower management level nearer their places of work. The oil industry, merchandizing, and government service are also testing the value of knowledge about groups and practice in more effective role performance within groups.

John R. Rees, psychiatric advisor to the British Army during World War II, was asked to develop "field performance tests," which would show how leadership emerges when groups face problems. In this case, goals were given to the group such as, "building a bridge across that ravine." How it should be done and who should be the leader were not specified. Close observations were kept of the interaction which eventually led to skillful performance. The one with the glib tongue might be the leader at first, but the one who could put various persons' ideas together in a plan of action and who could help people cooperate *without dominating* them became the more lasting leader.

Political speeches, religious sermons, and educational literature have, for generations, contained many discussions of leadership. Now, for the first time, the development of leadership roles is subjected to scientific study. As Theodore Newcomb points out, the ability to predict is still limited, but a start has been made:

> In such situations, what the therapist, leader, or any other interested participant wants to be able to do is to read the signs that appear in the behavior (his own as well as others)—to diagnose accurately what is going on, predict where it is going, and how it will change if he takes a given action—all of this soon enough for him to intervene and try to change the course of events if he deems it desirable.[1]

And so, one can get lost in the maze of research jargon and methods now applied to human nature in action, or he can see rather immediate application to family life, to civic group activity, to labor unions, and to business organizations of the new knowledge about group interaction which research studies and demonstrations are providing. "The study of small groups is important not only to those who specialize in social science, but also to those of us who want to understand better our own behavior and the behavior of our fellows." [2]

[1] Theodore M. Newcomb, "The Study of Consensus," in Merton, Broom, and Cottrell, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
[2] Hare, Borgatta, and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. v.

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Chapter 11

Collective Behavior and Mass Communication

Panic by Radio

Just a minute! Something's happening! Ladies and gentlemen, this is terrific! This end of the thing is beginning to flake off! The top is beginning to rotate like a screw! The thing must be hollow!

"She's a movin'!

"Look, the darn thing's unscrewing!

"Keep back, there! Keep back, I tell you.

"Maybe there's men in it trying to escape!

"It's red hot, they'll burn to a cinder!

"Keep back there! Keep those idiots back!

"She's off! The top's loose!

"Look out there! Stand back!

"Ladies and gentlemen, this is the most terrifying thing I have ever witnessed . . . Wait a minute! Someone's *crawling out of the hollow top.* Someone or . . . something. I can see peering out of that black hole two luminous disks . . . are they eyes? It might be a face. It might be . . .

"Good heavens, something's wriggling out of the shadow like a grey snake. Now it's another one, and another. They look like tentacles to me. There, I can see the thing's body. It's large as a bear and it glistens like wet leather. But that face. It . . . it's indescribable. I can hardly force myself to keep looking at it. The eyes are black and gleam like a serpent. The mouth is V-shaped with saliva dripping from its rimless lips that seem to quiver and pulsate. The monster or whatever it is can hardly move. It seems weighed down by . . . possibly gravity or something. The thing's raising up. The crowd falls back. They've seen enough. This is the most extraordinary experience. I can't find words . . . I'm pulling this microphone with me as I talk. I'll have to stop the description until I've taken a new position. Hold on, will you please, I'll be back in a minute."

"Panic by Radio" (heading is ours) is from Hadley Cantril, *The Invasion From Mars; a Study in the Psychology of Panic; with the Complete Script of the Famous Orson Welles Broadcast*, pp. 15–17, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1940. Copyright 1940 by Princeton University Press. The parenthetical phrases and captions have been omitted.

* * *

Space fiction and television dramas depicting life in and creatures from outer space are now so common that a pre-teenager would recognize the above broadcast as fictitious. Not so, when it happened! Orson Wells, with a group of actors, was astounded when their adaptation of H. G. Wells' imaginative novel, *War of the Worlds,* was believed by countless listeners to be a true newscast. As Hadley Cantril's study pointed out,

> No other broadcast has produced a panic comparable to the one which found several million American families all over the country gathered around their radios listening to reports of an invasion from Mars. These reports were brought to them over a national network from New York City, our greatest metropolis, where people should know what is going on. Both the form and the content of the broadcast seemed authentic. As one listener put it, "I just naturally thought it was real. Why shouldn't I?"[1]

Is a panic such as the one which followed the Orson Welles broadcast a sociological or a psychological phenomenon? If there were no social structure involved in the panic and if there were no interaction among the individuals who shared the terrific fright, then it would be psychological, in the limited sense of the term.

This was not the case. Both social structure and social interaction were present. They almost always are when human behavior is observed. Though writing as a psychologist, Cantril describes the social patterns which, in

[1] Hadley Cantril, *The Invasion From Mars; a Study in the Psychology of Panic; with the Complete Script of the Famous Orson Welles Broadcast*, p. 67, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1940. Reprinted by permission.

a measure, predetermined the listeners' reaction. Unwittingly, Orson Welles had done better than he thought because his audience understood the incident in terms of the social and normative context of their previous experience.

> This unusual realism of the performance may be attributed to the fact that the early parts of the broadcast fell within the existing standards of judgment of the listeners. By a standard of judgment we mean an organized mental context which provides an individual with a basis for interpretation. If a stimulus fits into the area of interpretation covered by a standard of judgment and does not contradict it, then it is likely to be believed.[1]

Two interview polls taken within hours of the broadcast indicated greater credulity among listeners who had tuned in late. They missed the introductory explanation. Some had also experienced social interaction before tuning in. Phones had been ringing, with calls directed not only to the police department and the radio station but also to friends. Cantril found that of the persons who tuned in at the beginning of the broadcast, 80 per cent realized that they were listening to a fictitious play. But of the persons who tuned in after the show was started, only 37 per cent realized that they were hearing a play, not a newscast.[2] The author further describes the social stimulus which caused many people to tune in late:

> A second important reason for the increase in the number of late arrivals was the contagion, the excitement created. People who were frightened or disturbed by the news often hastened to telephone friends or relatives. In the survey made by the American Institute of Public Opinion all people who tuned in late were asked "Did someone suggest that you tune in after the program had begun?" Twenty-one per cent said "Yes." In a special telephone study made for CBS by Hooper, Inc., it was found that 15 per cent of the 103 persons interviewed had tuned in late to the program because they were telephoned to do so; in the CBS survey 19 per cent were found to have listened after the beginning because others told them to hear the news.[3]

The Orson Welles broadcast is just one striking example of the potentiality of mass communication. Much more important is the day-by-day mass exposure to the same news stories, entertainment, sports events, drama, special features, and advertising through the mass media of newspapers, television and radio, movies, and magazines. Mass communication—". . . the relatively simultaneous exposure of a large number of people to identical communication emanating from a limited number of sources" [1]—is playing an increasingly important role in our society today. Political speakers now find it necessary to supplement whistle-stop platform and airport touch-down speeches with "personal appearances" via television. The staging of the telecast is designed to give a feeling of intimate acquaintance and communication with the speaker. "Fireside chats," "reports to the nation," and "person-to-person" are mass media captions intended to make large-scale communication personal.

Mass communication also has far-reaching effects in the field of commerce. For example, an incident in world affairs transmitted by radio and television may start a wave of pessimism or optimism which is reflected at once in the stock market. Some of the early manipulators even started such rumors for personal gain—a practice which is now illegal.

These are but a few everyday observations on the increasing impact of mass communication, an increase which has concerned many persons. Out of this concern has come a growing amount of research. Some of the research is broadly oriented sociologically. Other studies deal more narrowly with the immediate impact of mass communication upon listeners or viewers. In fact, this type of research, financed by the commercial purveyors of mass communication, is itself a new development in our society.

Audience reaction research

The high cost of producing television programs and movies has caused producers to seek research help in discovering audience reaction to their programs. The telephone inquiry or a personal interview poll is the approach of many "ratings," but each one relies on an over-all subjective evaluation of the viewer. Coming closer to catching audience reactions at the time of viewing is a method described by William Millard, Jr.:

> The Televac system is worked by giving 150 members of an audience small electronic boxes to hold. These are light and easy to operate. As the program is viewed, a continuous signal is sent by each respondent, using one of the simple lever switches on his box. A short training period is all that is

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 68. Reprinted by permission.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84. Reprinted by permission.

[1] Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior*, p. 166. © 1957, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

required for an audience to learn to manipulate the switches. Built-in reminder devices are used to obtain maximum audience cooperation. And there is a control feature in the system which reveals whether any individual respondent is failing to send a signal.

Members of the audience who are asked to use the Televac boxes are selected to be roughly representative of the TV audience with respect to sex, age, and education.[1]

Millard further explains:

> The replies of the 150 persons working the Televac signal boxes are weighted and combined in a composite curve which is reproduced on the chart. This gives a quick, easy-to-read summary of the general rise and fall in audience attention. Besides the composite curve, Televac plots individual curves for the four degrees of interest, giving a moment-by-moment record of each. This detailed chart has the advantage of enabling us to determine quickly and accurately the distribution of interest within the group to any given act or part of the program. These are invaluable aids to the research technician, since sharp differences of reaction to the same portion of the program may offset each other on the composite curve and only be revealed through a study of the individual curves.[2]

Televac is only one instance of the extent and extreme to which purveyors of mass stimulus reckon the results of their efforts. Many independent research organizations are ready to evaluate audience reactions. The broadcasting companies also have their own research departments. Universities are becoming increasingly aware of the social and ethical implications of mass communication. Several of them have research institutes which specialize in communications studies and call upon the psychological and social sciences for guidance and manpower. Occasionally, a department of journalism or of radio and television takes the lead. Their studies range from the audience reaction type to basic studies in attitude and opinion change and in other social consequences of the new forms of communication.

These developments all tend to acknowledge that with millions of viewers of the same program, the possibilities are almost limitless for mass education or entertainment, for the dissemination of new fads, fashions, crazes, and other forms of social contagion, but also for the development of public discussion of national and international issues. In the hands of the responsible, the opportunities for child and adult education are without bounds.

The Federal Communications Commission is alert to these problems. It went through serious soul-searching as did the broadcasting networks and advertising agencies when, in 1959, quiz programs were found to be "rigged," that is, contestants were told both the questions and answers in advance, and coached on how to create false suspense. What purported to be educational programs turned out to be commercial stunts, tailored not to honest presentation but to mass appeal. Out of this and other alarming experiences, there arose a set of values reflected in the self-regulation of the networks and advertisers and also in scrutiny and control by the FCC. Few would say that the standards are yet very high. Sadism in the crime shows or westerns may be followed by the musical craze of the moment and then by high-quality dramas, public discussions, and concerts. The proportion of the mixture leaves much to be desired.

We must withdraw from this temptation to moralize. The slip, though, conveys the correct impression that we are dealing with a colossus. Primitive societies were never like this. Neither was agrarian America. The television tube has brought a radically new medium of communication which subjects tens of millions of people simultaneously to the same stimulus. Social contagion, aided and abetted by this mass communication, takes many forms. One of them, the fad, comes into its own through the media just described. Before analyzing fads and their close kin, fashions, let us pause to see if some students are not wondering why sociology, which has to do with groups and social structure, includes in its subject matter such seemingly different forms of social contagion and other mass behavior as crowds, mobs, and publics. To be clear about it, let us define our terms and call on two specialists in this field to help. We have eased into this subject intentionally, dealing first with the new media of communication which have accounted for many of the developments.

Collective behavior

What is collective behavior? Sociologists are interested in all forms of social behavior. In the study of ongoing societies, sociologists give greatest attention to the normative and the more stable aspects of the social order. After all, the well-structured aspects of

[1] William J. Millard, Jr., *A Research Study of Wells Fargo*, p. 8, Pelham Manor, New York, February 11, 1957. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Millard Research Associates, *A Research Study of Showtime*, pp. 11–12, Pelham Manor, New York, January, 1958. Reprinted by permission.

societal life represent the important responses to the functional prerequisites of continuing societies.

But that is not all there is to social life. There is another side characterized by "change rather than stability, uncertainty rather than predictability, disorganization rather than stable structure." [1] Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian describe and define this aspect of social life which sociologists have come to call *collective behavior:*

> Sometimes men act as members of short-lived, loosely-knit, disorderly collectivities which we call *crowds*. The behavior of a rioting mob, a screaming audience, or an ecstatic religious congregation is markedly different from that of either an enduring informal group or a large, formal organization. Predictions about men's daily behavior can usually be made from knowledge of the culture of a group, but at times the members follow bizarre *fads* which arise suddenly and disappear before they can become a part of the culture. Many problems of a society are dealt with in a traditional manner, through the functioning of institutions. At times, however, problems arise for which tradition provides no clear-cut solution. An issue is created and a *public* arises. Public opinion is formed and reformed, often with startling shifts, until the issue disappears. The major norms of a society as embodied in its institutions persist for long periods in spite of varying degrees of dissatisfaction with them. But periodically *social movements* develop which culminate in institutional change and cultural revision. Some of the more spectacular of these movements are popularly termed "revolutions."
>
> Crowds, mass behavior, the behavior of publics, social movements—these, rather than the more stable and predictable phases of group life, are the subject matter of "collective behavior." [2]

The student will find this limitation of the term "collective behavior" somewhat arbitrary, for all group behavior is "collective." But this limitation is in accord with the tradition which has developed among sociologists.[3] Let us continue now with a consideration of other examples of collective behavior.

Followers of fads

Whatever is new and bizarre may appeal to those youth who want to symbolize their break with the conventional. Picking up a fad in manner, speech, or looks, popularized by a television or movie star gives thousands of young people a sense of freedom from the traditional. Their mode of dress, haircut, or talk no longer resembles their elders'. Their rebellion may be limited, superficial, symbolic, and safe. In most cases, youth do not really want to break with family or community—just appear to do so. Furthermore, they soon become as much slaves to a new fad as their parents were to old customs.[4]

Fads, of course, are not confined to youth. Nor are they confined as to type. A fad can be almost anything once it gets started. And with a start, mass communication carries it on its way. Slang expressions in popular speech are fads which arise as new culture forms, spread rapidly, and usually die out as quickly as they come. Occasionally, an apt turn of a word lingers to attain respectability in the dictionary. Advertising agencies try to invent slogans which catch on.

Fads of speech, dress, or thought thrive in a society which is mobile, which has many people uneasy about the future and the present, which contains subgroups not in harmony with one another, and which has a network of fast communication. Social contagion can spread from person to person, but it can go faster and farther when picked up by the networks which obliterate distance, both social and geographical. Degree of suggestibility to the mass-personal appeal of television varies widely, depending upon a complex of researchable sociological and psychological factors, but we shall not pause to review these individual variations.

Fashions have seized on this novelty proneness of people. They differ from fads in that there is usually more conscious planning in their creation. They are transmitted through well-established advertising and through fashion shows. They do not represent such a rapid and complete break with tradition, and they are likely to be followed, at least in modified form, for a longer period of time. Sapir drew a distinction when he said that a fad ". . . always differs from a true fashion in having something unexpected, irresponsible, or bizarre about it." [5]

We move on to another form of collective behavior, also aided by mass communication. It is closer in its content and process to the

1 Turner and Killian, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4. The italicizing is ours.

3 Turner and Killian also confine their use of "collectivity" to such groups as are engaged in collective behavior. Our usage in Part IV, as the student will note, is much broader, referring to all kinds of groups as well as to aggregates and categories.

4 Under some circumstances, however, the rebellion of youth can take on serious and hostile proportions and, if persistent, can be the start of a new social movement (*see* Chapter Twenty-Two) or of a political revolution.

5 Edward Sapir, "Fashion," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 6, p. 139, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931.

basic institutions of the nation. We refer to the public, to the debating of public issues, to public opinion, and to decision-making processes.

Publics

"The public is less often thought of as a type of collectivity having structure and dynamics than as the adjective in the concept, *public opinion.*" [1] There was also a time when writers spoke of "the public" as though all people could be included in one general group united by a common interest in "public questions." However, sociologists and political scientists now regard society as including many different publics, each one centering around some currently live issue and including all those people who care how the issue is resolved. Clarence Schettler states:

> The public is a group of individuals who are united together by a common interest or objective. . . . A public is always concerned with achieving or maintaining a specified purpose which is potentially, if not overtly, opposed by some other public.[2]

Harold Lasswell considers that if a person has "an active attitude toward the outcome of debatable alternatives of action," and the action under consideration is of significance to more than a primary group, then the person with the attitude is participating as a member of a public.[3] Thus John Jones may be concerned about a proposal to build a new highway bridge in his town and have an opinion about its desirability and the amount of money that should be spent. Mary Smith, who lives in a part of town remote from the bridge and who, moreover, does not own an automobile, doesn't even know that a new bridge is proposed and wouldn't be interested if she did. Jones is a member of the public on the bridge issue; Miss Smith is not.

Of course, Mary Smith *could* become aroused about the bridge issue and thereby join the public. If the debate really waxes hot in the community many people will be pulled in, at least temporarily, who would not spontaneously show interest in the question. Publics fluctuate in size, tending to increase as the hour of decision approaches, and then diminishing to a few continuously

[1] Turner and Killian, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
[2] Clarence Schettler, *Public Opinion in American Society*, p. 18, Harper & Brothers, Inc., New York, 1960.
[3] Harold D. Lasswell, "The Measurement of Public Opinion," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 25, p. 315, May, 1931.

interested souls when the decision is made or postponed. There are too many issues clamoring for a citizen's attention for him to remain an *active* member of many publics at the same time.

The nature of publics

If we define the term "public" as the collectivity of people who are at the time interested in what is going to happen on a social issue, then there are certain corollaries or secondary generalizations about a public that follow more or less inevitably:

1) A public has core members and fringe members, depending on the degree of interest in the issue at stake. Usually the core members exert the most influence on the decision that is made.

2) The composition of a public is constantly changing as people's interests become aroused on the one hand, or retreat to dormancy on the other.

3) An individual may be a member of many publics at the same time, although he will probably not be a core member of more than a few. The number of publics a person belongs to is in a sense a rough measure of his citizenship. "Simultaneously, an individual may be a member of a political public, a business public, a religious public, a tariff public, a temperance public, etc." [4]

4) A public always includes factions, or at least people with differing views on what should be done; if there is no difference there is no issue and consequently no public.

5) When the interests of two publics overlap, or the proposals under consideration conflict, the publics merge for the time being and realignments take place within. Thus on a proposal to establish civil rights laws we may find voters split regionally. On another issue, such as corporation tax rates, the regional division may disappear and differences arise on an economic basis.

6) In modern society much social change is decided upon within publics. The apathetic, uninterested citizens who do not join publics do not participate in the decisions that are made.

7) The more publics and the larger their average size, the more democracy. The alternatives to social decision via publics are, on the one hand, regimentation (decisions made at the top and handed down) and, on the

[4] Schettler, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

other, crowd behavior. There is no society without some public opinion, some crowd behavior, and some oligarchical decision-making—it is the relative frequency of each that determines how we classify a state as primarily democratic, primarily anarchic, or primarily autocratic.

Interaction in a public

Turner and Killian define a public as "a dispersed group of people interested in and divided about an issue, engaged in discussion of the issue, with a view to registering a collective opinion which is expected to affect the course of action of some group or individual." [1]

Mass communication permits a public to have a constantly changing and often far-flung membership. So while the characteristic interaction process within a public is *discussion,* the term includes much interchange of ideas between people who never see each other—as, for instance, between a newspaper editor and his readers, or a man making a speech in California and the people who hear a television commentator's summary of his remarks originating from a station in New York. Perhaps some few of the New York audience react to the ideas expressed in the speech through the answers they make to public opinion poll questions or in letters they write to the television station. These reactions may get back to the speaker in California—if so they complete a single episode in the discussion process. But more often the New York reactions influence someone else, say a newspaper editor in Chicago or a congressman in Washington, to put forth his own ideas as a reaction to theirs, and maybe the next thing to influence the Californian is an editorial in a Chicago newspaper or a speech in Congress. The discussion process is multilateral, not simply a give-and-take between two people or two groups.

Because discussion precedes action in a public, it is thought of as a *deliberative* collectivity. In practice, however, many limitations prevent a public from arriving at a soundly based decision. The first limitation is the lack of freedom for public discussion. Unfettered expression of views differing from those of the majority is a luxury which dictatorships deny their minorities and which democracies are reluctant to grant in time of war. Fearful that discussion will lead to disunity and disunity to defeat, wartime leaders of a democracy are forced into a paradoxical position. They become totalitarian so as to wage war successfully against totalitarianism. A nation's ability to regain liberty after becoming accustomed to the dictates of a military oligarchy is always problematic. The freedoms can be regained only if the original ideology of democracy is well entrenched and if some safeguards to civil autonomy and to individual rights have been preserved even during war.

For that matter, a country sailing under the colors of democracy has a most difficult time even when at peace in trying to make up its mind about how much freedom should be granted for the expression of minority opinion. As it swings toward liberalism, publics flourish; as it shrouds itself more closely, publics are suppressed.[2] Some countries have reached the point where the only field remaining for public discussion is that of mathematical speculation about astronomical questions, an area safely removed from political controversy—for the time being at least!

The second limitation is not so much concerned with outright suppression of discussion as it is with the ability of the public to secure accurate information on which to base its consideration of a problem.

In the third place, a public is limited by its own tendency to cease open discussion and take sides. In any public there is a core of individuals or constituent groups who are only too eager to close the debate and encourage the entire public interested in the question to make up its mind in a certain way. Such inner groups present their side of the question as attractively as possible and either cast aspersions upon contrary views or try to prevent those views from entering the discussion at all.

If, through the process of indoctrination, larger numbers join the group of the closed-minded, what was once a public reappears as a pressure group. However, if this latter group then pushes its claim in a larger arena of public action, and encounters different views from other pressure groups, the interchange of public discussion will once again take place.

The lesson to be learned from these varying behavior patterns of publics is simply this: a

[1] Turner and Killian, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[2] *See,* for example, Carey McWilliams, *Witch Hunt,* Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1950.

public comes into existence only when people are sufficiently interested in a controversy to take sides and debate the issue, and it goes out of business as soon as one faction succeeds in converting or dominating all others. To be a public, it must be characterized by some (little though it may be) deliberation, discussion, change of ideas, discovery of errors and fallacies, and quest for new facts. The consensuses which result are either temporary or lead to concerted group action. When the latter occurs, a public no longer exists but an action group does.

Primary groups and public opinion

Impressed by the outreach, the coverage, and the intensity of mass media, some observers have jumped to the conclusion that members of a public make up their minds largely on the basis of what comes over the air waves or through the printed page. Recent research questions this theory. Apparently the primary group memberships of a person continue to exert the greater influence in spite of the mass bombardment. One study shows that the previously existing attitudes which reflect a person's membership in localized groups (family, clique, job group, precinct organization, etc.) cause him to listen to what he wants to hear and to tune in the mass media ideas which agree with him. This process is never complete. There is always the chance of change through the mass approach, but still it appears that we remain social in the more limited sense, influenced more by personal contacts with an "opinion leader" or with our own business group or family or friendship group than by the silvery oratory which comes into our living room when we turn the dial. This conclusion, reached by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and associates in their intensive study of voting behavior,[1] is well summarized by Charles R. Wright:

> These researchers were primarily interested in discovering how and why people decide to vote as they do. In exploring this problem, Lazarsfeld and his colleagues introduced a new research method, the *panel technique*, by which the same people were repeatedly interviewed over an extended period of time. The panel technique represented an innovation in public opinion research for, among other things, it permitted the researcher to study the *development* and *change* in opinions and attitudes on-the-spot. He could detect persons who changed their minds almost at the moment of change, and then study intensively the factors leading to the change (or to stability). In this instance the study consisted primarily (although not entirely) of interviews with a core panel of 600 persons in Erie County, Ohio, who were interviewed once each month from May to November, that is, just prior to and throughout the election campaign.
>
> The researchers were also interested in determining the impact of the political campaign itself, including its mass media components, upon changes in voting intention. To their surprise (for one would have predicted the opposite), there was very little evidence of direct influence of the campaign in changing people's votes. This is not to say that the campaign had no effect whatsoever, or that on occasion it did not convert voters. But the basic impact of the mass campaign was to reinforce the original voting intention of some citizens and to activate latent predispositions of others.[2]
>
> The reinforcement effect can be understood also in terms of the political homogeneity of social groups. The study showed repeatedly that people voted "in groups" in the sense that persons belonging to the same church, family, social clubs, and similar institutionalized groups tended to vote alike. The tendency toward political homogeneity of social groups can in turn, of course, be partially explained by the fact that people living under similar social and economic conditions are likely to share similar needs and interests and to interpret their experiences in similar political terms. But a fuller explanation must also take into account the importance politically within these groups of personal influence through face-to-face contact. For example, "whenever the respondents were asked to report on their recent exposure to campaign communications of all kinds political discussions were mentioned more frequently than exposure to radio or print." It was in the discovery and analysis of such effective personal contacts that the concept of opinion leader . . . developed.[3]

The above theory may need some modification. In the 1960 Presidential campaign, Richard M. Nixon and John F. Kennedy made communication history by being the first such candidates to engage in a series of televised debates which blanketed all networks. Social scientists were not able to study all aspects of voting behavior at the time, but many observed that the person-to-person contact between the candidates as they discussed domestic and foreign policy before a nation-wide audience did have a telling influence on marginal voters, who up to the last minute had not made up their minds. Or, putting the matter more tersely, the comment is made: Kennedy could not have won without these debates. With them, his personality and

[1] See Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955.

[2] From *Mass Communication*, by Charles R. Wright, pp. 52–53. © Copyright 1959 by Random House, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54. Reprinted by permission.

his views were known as intimately to the voters as were those of Nixon, who had the advantage of more years in public office.

Otto Larsen and Richard Hill made a study of ways in which news reaches people. The day after the death of Senator Robert A. Taft, the research interviewers were in contact with 150 men and women living in a housing project for faculty members of the University of Washington and nearly an equal number of residents of an interracial working-class housing project.[1]

In his comments on the Larson-Hill study, Wright asks a question:

What light does the study shed on the connection between personal and mass communications? The study has several broad implications. First, it emphasizes the importance of primary groups in personal communication about events—those who first heard the news by word of mouth usually got it from another family member, in the faculty community, or, in the case of the men in both communities, from a co-worker. Second, there is strong evidence that people do more than just listen to mass-communicated news—they talk about it with friends, relatives, neighbors, and co-workers. At least 80 per cent of the people who learned about the Senator's death discussed it with others, each person talking to about three others, on the average.[2]

In summarizing his own views about the various research studies which he has examined, Wright comments:

These cases re-emphasize the importance of viewing mass communications as functioning within the larger sociological perspective of the culture, social organization, and human groups.[3]

Publics are complicated collectivities if the research cited is even a partial indication. Opinion leaders, primary group contacts, groups, and mass communication all play a part in shaping the views of people about a public issue. Possibly this complexity is some protection in a democracy. A would-be dictator cannot rely upon quick success by capturing the channels of mass communication. He must work in a social context favorable in many different respects to his rise to power. We have seen this coalescence of factors through Hitler and Germany and in the Communist Party of Russia. In the United States and many other western countries the factors which shape opinions of publics are still varied and relatively unregulated by a single pressure group. Issues continue to be debated in personal conversation, in many kinds of groups, and over radio, television, and in the press. No one thought system has captured "the public" because many publics continue to function.

Having analyzed two aspects of collective behavior in the followers of fads and the dispersed interaction of a public, we turn to another form of collective behavior—a crowd. Alvin Johnson has given us a classic example of the formation of crowd behavior and its intensification into mob action. After reading his narration, we shall analyze the nature of crowds and mobs as forms of collective behavior.

Case of "Fun" at the Sutler's Shack

We had fallen out and were lounging before our tents when a strange soldier from another regiment passed rapidly down the company street.

"There'll be some fun at the sutler's shack, just before taps," he remarked, to no one in particular. Twenty paces further on he repeated his statement mechanically, and we heard him repeat it once more as he passed by the mess tent on his way to another company.

"Say, do you hear what that fellow said?" cried the cook, thrusting out his head from between the flaps of the mess tent.

"Oh shut up!" said the first sergeant. "You fellows have got to stay right here. Mind, I'm watchin' ye. The first fellow that leaves the company street'll get reported."

"What do you think?" murmured my tentmate, Buck, an eager boy, enlisted under age. "They've been talking of running the sutler out."

"Nothing to it," I asserted. "They wouldn't dare. Anyway, you and I are going to keep out of it."

"Well, all right. But damn the sutler."

"Amen," I agreed. It was two weeks beyond pay day, and not a soul in the company had any money left. The sutler had garnered it all. What

1 Otto Larsen and Richard Hill, "Mass Media and Interpersonal Communication in the Diffusion of a News Event," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 19, pp. 426–443, August, 1954.

2 Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

"Case of 'Fun' at the Sutler's Shack" is adapted from Alvin Johnson, "Short Change," *New Republic*, vol. 14, pp. 381–383, Apr. 27, 1918. Reprinted by permission of the author and of the publishers. The scene is laid in an American army encampment of 1898.

could you expect? After two hours' drill on a sweating morning, one had to drink, but not, if he could help it, the tepid water in the company barrel, tasting of vegetable mold and vinegar soaked wood. At the sutler's were to be had lemonade, passably cool and refreshing even if it was made without lemons, bottled soft drinks and a marvelous beverage known as blackberry bounce which made a total abstainer grotesquely gay. Until the pay ran out, the sutler was confronted from morning till night with thirsty and hungry soldiers, sometimes in ranks ten deep. And from morning till night an ugly quarrel was going on over his counter.

"Here, you damn dago, I gave you a dollar. Where's my change?"

"No, no, you gave me fi' cents."

"You're lying. Give me my change or I'll knock your damn head off."

The sutler would shrug his shoulders and serve another row of customers. If the trouble maker was very persistent, the sutler would shell out change with poisonous gesture. He was an Armenian, and no doubt had learned in the trade with Kurds how far one may defy, how far one must compromise with violence. Current report was that the sutler made a regular practice of short change, but there was a strong minority opinion that this report was eight-tenths pure fabrication and one-tenth founded on mistake. Several men in my company boasted of their success in getting drinks for nothing and bullying the sutler out of change besides. Probably someone else suffered for it. Anyway, the sutler was bound to win out in the end; if his customers occasionally cheated him he nevertheless got the money back in trade. Inevitably he was cordially detested. . . .

The dusk was growing heavy. I was preparing to turn in, when Buck, who had been making a call on a neighboring company, thrust his head into the tent.

"Say," he whispered. "There aren't ten men in D company's tents. Our boys are all gone, too. Let's get out before the officers catch on."

"They're all crazy," I grumbled. "They'll drill us to death tomorrow for this."

"Come on!" cried Buck, tugging at my belt.

I blew out my light and stepped out of the tent. Men from other companies were stealthily slipping through between the tents, headed for the sutler's. I caught some of Buck's eagerness and in a moment we, too, were slipping between tents in the darkness. Beyond the camp we issued upon a trail, now quite packed with dark figures.

"Hullo," sounded a strange voice in my ear. "Did he short change you?"

"No," I replied. "I never trusted him to make change."

"You were smart. I don't know another man he hasn't skinned. You're Peters, M company, aren't you?"

"No. C company."

"Oh, I mistook you. Gosh! Hear 'em?"

I caught a confused wave of sound, shouting interspersed with shrill whistles. We began to run.

In the clearing, under the flickering gasoline torch, hundreds of men were packed about the front of the sutler's shack. The Armenian stood in his doorway, pale but imperturbable, his eyes glaring fiercely, his thick lips curving in a nervous smile. The crowd was keeping its distance, as word had passed back from the front that the sutler had his finger on the trigger of a six-shooter. We were after fun, not shooting, and it was enough to hurl imprecations at him. When Buck and I arrived, the spirit of the crowd was good humored, for the most part, but occasionally one could perceive a note of real hatred. What seemed a deliberate competition in imprecations got in motion, and the more violent curses gained rapidly over the milder ones. The character of the voices, too, began to change: the original miscellaneous clamor split into two well-defined currents of deep notes and high that would occasionally reinforce each other and make one thrill unaccountably. The crowd was pressing closer. The Armenian still kept his nerve, but the movements of his head were becoming spasmodic. It was still fun with us, but the idea that it was serious was visibly gaining on the Armenian.

"Poor devil," I thought, "this has been carried about far enough." And then a new baying note rose from the mob, a note I had not supposed to be within the range of the human voice. I shivered, and as I glanced again at the Armenian, darting his eyes from one quarter to another, in suppressed panic, I felt my pity slip from me. I began to exult, like a hunter who has found a wild animal in a trap, to finish at leisure. "Kill the damn thief! Kill the damn dago!" the crowd was yelling. It thrilled!

There was a lull: something was going on that we in the centre could only divine. Above the mutterings, subdued for the moment, we heard a sound like the splitting of timber. Word passed from the flanks of the crowd. "They've pried out a plank behind." The Armenian turned to look

back into his shack: his jaw dropped; his thin acquisitive profile quivered; the white of his eye seemed to glaze. A sharp pebble hurled from behind him struck him just below the cheek bone: it clung for a second, like a hideous black growth, then dropped, thrust out by a jet of blood. A mantle of frenzy fell upon the mob. An atrocious roar arose, carrying on its waves all the obscenities and blasphemies known to young America.

"Kill the damn Jew! Kill the God damn Nigger!"

The mob surged forward: all around me men wedged between converging lines of force were crying out that they were being crushed. The Armenian darted into his shack, snapping the door to in the face of a dozen men springing for him. They beat and pushed at the door while a hundred others thrust their weight against the counter shutters. The shack was rocking on its foundations: another thrust, and over she'd go. Suddenly I became conscious of a weakening of the pressure from behind me; of a subsidence of the volume of yells, of a subtle change in the quality of the sound. Did I merely imagine that I heard a sharp "Halt!" at my left? I stood on tiptoe, to look over the heads of the men about me. Through an opening produced by an accidental grouping of shorter men, I caught a glimpse of a long line of men in khaki, springing from the darkness to the rear, passing across the lighted circle, and into the darkness beyond, within which, by straining, one seemed to distinguish the dull gleam of rifle barrels and belt buckles, extending interminably.

"Fix bayonets!" sounded the command distinctly.

"The regulars!" murmured voices all around me. In an instant we were rushing across the lighted space, in a panic as infectious and as blind and overpowering as our rage of a moment past. Everywhere the woods resounded with the steps of running men. I lost Buck, and ran wildly, without a sense of direction, until my breath was gone. Over the comb of a little hill I paused to gather my wits, only to be run down by a group of men who had clung together in their abject panic. I picked myself up, bruised and still more dazed, and began to run away at right angles to my previous course. I burst into a little clearing and stopped short: before me in the darkness was something upright: a sentry? It remained perfectly immobile. Cautiously I approached: it was a granite slab, one of the many erected to commemorate a battle of the Civil War fought on this terrain. I seated myself with my back to the stone, for protection against any galloping figures that might chance my way. Through my shirt, clinging with perspiration, I could feel the cold, sharp cut characters of the inscription: the names of Americans of my father's generation who had fallen here in defense of a race of alien blood. Had that atrocious, non-human cry of race hatred and blood thirst, sharply cut into my memory like these letters on granite, actually issued from my own lips? Or had I just heard it and made it my own, in the moment of the collective frenzy and the fused emotions and will of the mob?

* * *

The behavior of crowds and mobs

Under such circumstances as those just described, crowd behavior easily arises and may not cease until it has gone the whole way to mob action. Not all crowds engage in violent action; some stop at the stage of intensive feeling accompanied by only moderate overt behavior. A crowd of football fans celebrating around the victory bonfire, a crowd assembled to witness the world première of a movie, and a crowd lining the streets to watch a parade, are not moblike in their behavior; they are forms of collective action which a society generally recognizes and encourages. But because in some cases one stage does lead to another, eventuating in the uncontrolled acts of a mob, we may well consider at one time the characteristics of these two types of groups.

Our use of the term "crowd" is not identical with its popular meaning. For us it is not a mere aggregate of individuals such as one sees on Main Street at the noon hour, or in subway stations; they possess no unifying interest, no sharing of experience. If, however, the usual hurry and bustle of noonday traffic is interrupted by a novel occurrence, the onlookers, in their mutual concern, become a crowd. For example, when a bomber, blinded by clouds, crashed into an upper floor of the Empire State Building, enveloping the tower in smoke and flames, hundreds of people gathered in the streets below. They speculated about the cause of the crash, how many had been killed, and whether or not people were trapped in the floors above. This is a crowd of the least organized type, but

nevertheless it may go by that name, because, for the moment, *persons have a common interest, respond emotionally to the same stimuli,* and *influence one another by expressions of alarm, curiosity, amusement, or pity.* Earle E. Eubank has given a concise definition which may well serve as an introduction to our study. Incidentally, his statement tends to confirm the point that crowds and mobs have many characteristics in common.

> The *crowd* and the *mob* are alike in the following ways: (1) they are each a personal assemblage, (2) for a single occasion, (3) characterized by absence of discussion and reflection, (4) being motivated by emotion and impulse. (5) Their individual members are so merged with the whole as to be dominated by the collective emotion, (6) and each individual identity is so submerged as to render them virtually anonymous. Their essential condition is a state of *rapport* among their members. . . . When the crowd changes from a passive state, or from one of mere interaction among its members, into a state of aggressive, collective action toward some unreasoned objective, it becomes a mob.[1]

The full meaning of this definition will be more apparent as our discussion progresses. In his characterization of the crowd, Blumer identifies four types: [2] (1) the *casual crowd* (like the street assemblage with a momentary interest), (2) the *conventionalized crowd* (like the fans at a boxing match whose excitement and overt behavior follow traditional patterns), (3) the *active* or *aggressive crowd* (practically synonymous with Eubank's characterization of the "mob"), and (4) the *expressive* or "dancing" *crowd* (a special type of unrestrained collective behavior common in the early days of religious sects but also present in other circumstances, as, for example, in the more extreme forms of youth's dance crazes).

Although Eubank and Blumer have shown how this general collective form, the crowd, can be subtyped in different ways, we shall not deal as much with such refinements in the next section as with the more common manifestations of crowd behavior.

Emotional nature of crowd behavior

The important characteristics of a crowd are not its personnel nor its organization but its state of mind and its behavior. Everett Dean Martin probably exaggerated when he called the crowd "a device for indulging ourselves in a kind of temporary insanity by all going crazy together," [3] but he did not entirely miss the point. Persons in the midst of crowd excitement are freed from the usual inhibitions of polite society, and, forgetting consequences, they follow the impulse of the moment. The case of the soldiers who attacked the sutler illustrates crowd behavior as do lynching mobs. Between 1882 and 1949, 4,722 lynchings occurred in the United States.[4] In 1933 alone a total of 75,000 mob members participated in twenty-eight lynchings, but in more recent years the number has declined sharply. The race riot in Detroit in June of 1943, in which thirty-four persons were killed and more than a thousand wounded, illustrates the extreme of mob behavior:

> "The mob rushed into the car and passed me, going toward the back after other passengers. I jumped up and ran out.
>
> "As I stepped from the car into the safety zone, three shots were fired at me. I felt pain in my right side and in my chest. I ran to where police were standing and said, 'Help me, I'm shot!'
>
> "The officers took me to the middle of the street where they held me. I begged them not to let the rioters attack me. While they held me by both arms, nine or ten men walked out of the crowd and struck me hard blows.
>
> "Men kept coming up to me and beating me, and the policemen did nothing to prevent it."
>
> On another street, a white war-plant worker froze to the ground as a mob of Negro hoodlums surrounded him on his way home from work. Was this America, his adopted land? . . .
>
> "Run home if you don't want to be killed," they told his women companions from the factory. Then they knocked him down, kicked him, and left him bleeding. . . .[5]

In mob behavior, irrational as it always is, the impulse to follow a suggested course of action is obeyed at once; whereas, in any form of rational behavior there is always delay enough to permit comparisons and evalu-

[1] Earle E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, pp. 154–155. Reprinted by special permission of D. C. Heath and Company, publishers.

[2] Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, Alfred McClung Lee, editor, pp. 178–179, Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York, 1946.

[3] Everett Dean Martin, *The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass in the Modern World*, p. 190, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1932.

[4] *Lynching by States*, 1882–1949, Dept. of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Statistics on lynching vary because of the difference in definition. This investigation defined lynching as "summarily taking the life of an individual for some crime or offense punishable under the law but in which instance the law was not allowed to take its course."

[5] Alfred McClung Lee and Norman D. Humphrey, *Race Riot*, pp. 2–3, Dryden Press, New York, 1943. Reprinted by permission of authors and publishers.

ations.[1] Our immediate problem, therefore, in answering, "Why does a mob behave that way?" is to see what elements in the situation render a person especially suggestible. The first is the simple fact of the novelty of the crowd situation.

Novelty and suggestibility. When one is surrounded by strange circumstances, habitual patterns lose their power and meaning learned from previous experience seems inapplicable.

Many persons will stop whatever else they are doing to watch a police raid, join the "fun at the sutler's shack," or follow a lynching party. The break with routine experience releases one from the social restraints to which he is usually subject, but there is also an added factor. Novelty itself has an attraction; one welcomes a break in the routine just for its own sake. This desire to experience something unusual will frequently draw the passer-by into a crowd and hold him as a member.

One Saturday afternoon on the boardwalk at Atlantic City a crowd gathered around a woman who, because of her unusual features and her strange costume, presented an extremely grotesque figure. At first there were only four or five persons. Then others, wondering about the attraction, joined the earlier arrivals. Within half an hour the crowd was so large that police were called to disperse it. During the entire time the woman remained motionless and expressionless. No crowd member ever knew whether she was some concessionaire's added attraction, whether she was trying an experiment in crowd psychology, or whether she really was just unintentionally bizarre. In any case, the novelty of the sight made adults forget themselves and stare like little children. This fixing of attention on something new and startling to the exclusion of all else has given rise to the term, "mental isolation." [2]

Anonymity and suggestibility. The state of mental isolation is also induced by the factor of anonymity. According to those who can speak from experience, an intoxicated person is not aware of how silly or revolting his behavior may appear to others. Similarly, when intoxicated with the excitement of the crowd, the individual loses self-consciousness. This condition of irresponsibility is hastened by the vague assurance that his behavior will not get him into trouble because everyone else is doing the same thing, and since many in the crowd appear to be strangers, he feels certain that his own identity will be lost in the mass. To come face to face with a relative from the home town at such a time is a most embarrassing experience. But usually a crowd assures anonymity, or at least protection from punishment if one is identified. The loss of personal identity and responsibility in a crowd and still more so in a mob is a strange phenomenon and a disquieting one to those who observe it in others or experience it themselves.[3]

Release of repressed emotions. The *novelty* of the experience and the feeling of *freedom* in a crowd which we have been discussing are supplemented quite often by another important factor. This is the tendency of repressed emotions to find expression at the first opportunity. Unsatisfied prejudices, grievances, and wishes, normally held in check by the social restraints of public opinion and law, are easily released in the freedom of a crowd occasion. Individuals without social moorings, reckless because they have little to lose, restless because of unemployment, prejudiced rather than educated—these are the ones especially susceptible to crowd appeal. Raper found many of the lynching mobs to be "unattached and irresponsible youths of twenty-five or less. . . . Few of the lynchers were even high school graduates. . . . Most of the lynchers read but little, and were identified with but few or no organization(s)." [4] He concluded:

> Lynchings are not the work of men suddenly possessed of a strange madness; they are the logical issues of prejudice and lack of respect for law and personality, plus a sadistic desire to participate in

[1] Turner and Surace show how a crowd seeks for a symbol which will be unquestioned. It needs one which arouses only antagonistic attitudes toward the object under attack. *See* Ralph H. Turner and Samuel J. Surace, "Zoot-Suiters and Mexicans: Symbols in Crowd Behavior," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 62, pp. 14–20, July, 1956.

[2] Doris M. Lorden, "Mob Behavior and Social Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 14, p. 330, March–April, 1930.

[3] Police have become so well aware of this sense of freedom from usual standards that they are trained to detect as quickly as possible the key persons in a mob. With care but also with dispatch, they go for them as individuals, ignoring the mob as a whole. They sweep away their anonymity by arresting them and, if possible, calling their names publicly as they do so. Others in the mob quickly get the idea that they, too, may be identified and punished. This approach to the breakup of a mob has become one of the standard operating procedures.

[4] Arthur F. Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching*, p. 11, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1933.

the excitement of mob trials and the brutalities of mob torture and murder.[1]

In her study, Doris Lorden states that:

> . . . The behavior of the mob is thus expressive of the body of attitudes held by men but conventionally concealed. The mob situation simply lifts the inhibitions at the same time that it stirs the emotions.[2]

This lifting of inhibitions, permitting the expression of repressed attitudes, is evident in prison riots, which have occurred frequently in recent years. They can often be traced to tense emotional situations which reflect an accumulation of hard feelings against officials and fellow prisoners. Curt orders from guards must be obeyed without retort, unpleasant work assignments accepted, and poor food endured. These grievances—some real, some imaginary—create a state of tension which may be set off in open revolt by a trivial incident.

> A riot was narrowly averted in a state penitentiary when the same kind of food was served for breakfast on three successive mornings. The warden's explanation that an unavoidable delay had occurred in the shipment of bacon did not stop the booing and shouting. The men refused to eat, became increasingly restless, and started pounding tables with their aluminum dishes. The warden expected to lose completely his control over the men. He finally shouted for attention, and ordered them back to their cells, little expecting to be obeyed. A "lifer" whom he had befriended on several occasions jumped to his feet and shouted, "You ——— ——— get back to your cells like the warden says." As he started to walk out several yelled. "Sit down or we'll kill you," but he continued and no one stopped him. Several others started out and soon the mess hall was cleared. The crowd was in such a high state of excitement that its behavior was unpredictable. Had the "lifer" shouted, "Come on, you cowards, get the warden," a mob scene would have followed.[3]

Prisoners are especially susceptible to crowd-mindedness because of their many repressed impulses, but the same condition exists in other groups as well. It is least apparent in individuals whose lives are well balanced, that is, who find some degree of satisfaction for their basic desires. Persons who feel secure in their economic and social positions, who have friends with whom they can share their problems and their joys, who are working toward goals which they consider worthwhile, who receive social recognition for their achievements, and who have occasional opportunities for change of experience such as is afforded in travel, adventure, vacations, and hobbies are poor candidates for a crowd and least of all for a mob. It is the socially maladjusted and emotionally unstable who give reckless expression to repressed desires when opportunity comes.

Crowds prevalent during periods of unrest

If the socially maladjusted are the best candidates for crowd membership, then we should expect crowd behavior to be especially prevalent during periods of social change and unrest. This principle is well illustrated by the frequency of race riots in northern cities after World War I. *The Negro in Chicago,* a research study prepared by the governor's commission, gives an extensive account not only of the riot which occurred in Chicago but of the conditions which preceded it.[4] This study shows that the Chicago race riots, certainly a good example of crowd hysteria and mob action, did not happen merely because a few Negro and white swimmers engaged in an argument at a bathing beach. Rather, it reflected accumulated grievances following the mass migration of southern Negroes to northern cities. Instead of finding the North a land of promise, as it had been described in the newspapers he had read, the Negro encountered new forms of social and economic discrimination and acute problems of adjustment in health and housing. On the other hand, certain classes of whites had become increasingly resentful of the Negro's presence in Chicago because of his invasion of white residential areas and his competition for jobs. This was the state of discontent that made possible a riot which resulted in the death of 38 persons and the injury of 537 others.

Similar unrest, exaggerated by World War II, prepared the way for the aforementioned Detroit riot.

Any major social change—the substitution of machine for man power in production, a war, or a mass migration—may so disrupt society that persons, no longer finding security and recognition, are ready subjects for the emotional appeal of the crowd. *Social disorganization, personal maladjustment, and crowd-mindedness are closely related.*

[1] *Ibid.,* p. 47. Reprinted by permission.
[2] Lorden, *op. cit.,* p. 331. Reprinted by permission.
[3] Based on firsthand account given the author by one of the officers.
[4] The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago,* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1922.

Establishing rapport

All of the conditions described may be present and still no crowd develop. Novelty, anonymity, and release of emotions are effective conditions only when a state of *rapport* exists among the persons present. Rapport is as indispensable to a crowd as discipline is to an army. It is that condition of common understanding and responsiveness that fuses personalities in corporate action. Persons no longer count as individuals; they are members of one body intent upon the same objective. What is necessary for the establishment of a high degree of rapport?

The first prerequisite is the physical presence of the members. Actually being together, seeing and touching each other, and responding simultaneously to the same stimulus—these are important characteristics of the crowd. A high state of emotionalism can be reached only if there is a rapid-fire exchange of suggestion. Even spoken language is too slow. A crowd communicates through the suggestion of movement, the expression of the eyes, and the meaning of gestures.

A general background of common experience is also important in the establishment of rapport. The emotional behavior of the old-time religious camp meetings took on crowd characteristics partly because rapport was established so quickly and perfectly. This was made possible by the fact that those who gathered at the campground had a similar background of experience. They were engaged in the same occupation (farming), faced the same problems, and, of special importance, were reared in a common religious culture. To them such admonitions as, "Ye must be born again," were familiar and meaningful. As they sang, "In the blood of the Lamb, in the soul-cleansing blood of the Lamb," they were moved with a common emotion.

But when the same theology is expressed by a "fringe" religious group as it holds its meetings on the street corner of a modern city, the ideas are meaningless to many who pass by. They look at any band of street worshipers as a group of fanatical "down and outers" utterly lacking in a sense of appropriateness. This *social difference* or *social distance* prevents the development of any common interest, of mutual responsiveness, of *rapport,* without which the emotionalism of a revival, or of any crowd, cannot exist.

But not until a third factor enters the picture does crowd behavior become almost inevitable. In some startling way the crowd must be made aware of its common interest. A colorful symbol introduced at the right moment often serves this function.

The dramatic symbolization of common objectives speeds the establishment of rapport. The symbol may be a catch phrase expressing a central idea of the group, or it may be a flag or an idealized hero. French history contains an excellent illustration of the idealized hero in the person of Joan of Arc, who, as she rose to a position of leadership, symbolized the yearning for faith and freedom of a disillusioned, war-ridden nation. Wherever she went, crowds responded to her hope of national salvation. When, instead of a person, an idea serves as the symbol, it is often a stereotyped, ready-made idea, which acquires emotional power when introduced at a dramatic moment.[1] "Kill the damn thief," shouted as the crowd pressed toward the sutler's shack, summarized the hatred of the soldiers and united them in intense emotionalism.

When the members of a crowd are *en rapport* by reason of the factors mentioned, they are in an appropriate state of mind to be controlled easily by the suggestions of a leader. Because of its emotional instability and its desire for action, the crowd, possibly more than any other group, is subject to the power of aggressive personalities who assume the role of leadership.

Collective behavior and social change

Another important type of collective behavior which is reserved for discussion under social change in Chapter Twenty-two, is the *social movement.* But as we conclude this chapter, we can observe that all collective behavior has to do with social change or the conditions out of which social change is likely to emerge. We have noted that it arises most easily when the structure of a society is undergoing stress. But collective behavior also facilitates or speeds the processes of change. In fact, when the old order is sufficiently unsatisfactory, collective behavior may so threaten the traditional structure of the social order that disorganization becomes cumulative.

1 Many of the standard books on propaganda and public opinion also deal with the subject of stereotypes.

Turner and Killian state that: "Widespread collective behavior arises out of the inadequacy of culture on the one hand and out of the failure of the social organization to operate on the other hand."[1] But our perspective on collective behavior remains incomplete unless we also note with Turner and Killian that it represents a reaching out—often in a groping manner—toward a more satisfactory state of affairs. Which is to say, collective behavior has its source in dissatisfaction with the old order, but the final outcome is change which becomes the basis—the normative basis—for the modified new order.

Collective behavior is one of the most colorful parts of the sociologist's subject matter, but it is also one of the most profound because of its relation to basic change in a society.

[1] Turner and Killian, *op cit.*, p. 519.

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Chapter 12

Stratification and Mobility

Status in the Making

[After years of being one of the gardeners, Mr. Pinnegar had just been appointed head gardener.] Walking through the Manor gardens, with all his newly acquired honors thick upon him, he found young Jim Mustoe's prong lying athwart a grass path, where it had been placed with careful precision two minutes before. Young Mustoe and a couple of cronies were lurking behind a handy bush in the hope of taking a rise out of their new boss.

"Whose prong is this?" asked Mr. Pinnegar.

"Mine, Bert," replied the owner.

"Pick it up," ordered Mr. Pinnegar.

"Pick it up yourself," said young Mustoe.

It is never wise to force an issue unless you see your way clear to carry it through. The newly ordained head gardener had two alternatives—equally impossible. He couldn't hit young Mustoe on the nose, because, physically, young Mustoe was a bigger and better man. He couldn't report young Mustoe to Higher Authority, because that would have been an admission that he wasn't man enough to control his staff. Young Mustoe and his associates grinned happily.

Yet, oddly enough, Mr. Pinnegar didn't seem at all worried. Quite friendly, in fact. "Look here, Jim," he said. "Suppose, as well might be, you had just been made head gardener, and suppose some silly young devil told you to pick up his prong—what would you do?"

"I'd see him d--d first," said young Mustoe.

"Quite right, Jim," agreed the new head gardener, with an approving nod. "Right first time. If you go on like that, Jim, you'll be head gardener yourself, one of these fine days."

Dazzled by this prospect, young Mustoe stooped to pick up his prong; but his new guv'nor hadn't finished with him yet. "And, Jim," he added benevolently, "when you're head gardener, always see that the other fellows call you Mr. Mustoe; a bit difficult at first, Jim, but you'll find it pays in the long run."

"Yes, Mr. Pinnegar," replied young Mustoe.

Mr. Pinnegar wandered away, leaving the unholy trinity to pick the bones out of that one. He had won his first skirmish and, so far as his staff was concerned, there were no further battles to be fought.

But outside, in the village, he felt like a fish out of water. You can't suddenly become somebody without feeling a bit self-conscious about it. Like the wife of a worthy citizen who hears herself addressed as "My Lady" for the first time. Very pleasant, of course, to be singled out from your familiar circle, but a shade embarrassing, until you get used to it. Of course his old cronies went on calling him Bert, just as if nothing had happened; but to the rest of the village, from top to bottom, he had become Mr. Pinnegar, whether he liked it or not.

"Status in the Making" (heading is ours) is from *Old Herbaceous,* by Reginald Arkell, pp. 79–81, copyright 1951, by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

* * *

This simple incident gives one an unpretentious glimpse of the austere subject of stratification, but it will do. Mr. Pinnegar, in the novel, *Old Herbaceous,* had had a most humble origin. And now his slight ascent on the occupational and social scale might appear a bit awkward to handle, but he makes out like an old master! He had absorbed almost mysteriously a subtle understanding of the behavior called for by his new station in life, head gardener. Because of his skill in this first test encounter, we might surmise that he had rehearsed in his imagination the new role long before he played it. Undoubtedly, he had. In microcosm this old man and this trivial incident reflect the reality of a society's different levels and of the way statuses are evaluated accordingly.

Moving from this homespun example to the hierarchy of the army, we can see stratification in all of its elaborateness. Or, recalling the history book's description of the feudal system, we remember its rigidity and complexity. In fact, processes of stratification are at work in nearly every group and society. Joseph A. Kahl states that, "Every complex society known to scholarship has been stratified."[1] Possibly a few primitive tribes have had almost no status hierarchy, but most do have. In modern industrial cities, the social structure, with its ups and downs of statuses[2] and with the striving of people to climb higher, or their frustration in not making it, is a common fact.

Stratification is simply a *process* of interaction or differentiation whereby some people come to rank higher than others. Or, instead of looking at the people who strive, we can focus on the social structure itself. The role requirements of the different statuses reflect the norms and values of the society. Whether we look at individual behavior or at the system which defines the roles people are to play at different levels, we are studying the subtleties of stratification. Consequently, this chapter is related to the others in Part III, and it is also a prelude to the chapters on social institutions in Part VI.

In a tightly packed volume of readings, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset[3] quote authorities from all over the world. The essays and research reports on stratification range from William Foote Whyte's "A Slum Sex Code" to Patricia Salter West's "Social Mobility Among College Graduates." The readings go back to Aristotle, Adam Smith, and Thorsten Veblen and come up to the present with the works of W. Lloyd Warner, Robert K. Merton, C. Wright Mills, and August B. Hollingshead. This volume, with its wealth of material and its innumerable references, carries the advanced student far into the subject. Or, if one prefers a more unified account by a single author, he can delve into Kahl's previously cited *The American Class Structure*, or into *Social Stratification*, by Bernard Barber. The latter is characterized by its subtitle as "A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process."[4] The former refers to historical theories about class, to the "position and prestige" approach of Warner, Hollingshead, and others; to the economic and political factors; and to ethnic considerations.[5] Before citing any of these treatises let us return for a moment to our own summary. As we were saying—

We can focus attention on the stratified society itself. That is, we can study the values of the society and the way they are organized in a social system of higher and lower statuses. Or, we can look at the individual persons in the society. We can see how they have learned these values in their growing-up, socialization process. Their overt behavior reflects them. So do their innermost attitudes. This personality corollary of culture was given in Chapters Five and Six.

The process of stratification and its results can be viewed as they operate in small or large social units. Embryonic status differences are seen in a boys' gang, more elaborate ones in the organization of staff personnel in a hospital, and equally complex ones in the inner structure of a college or a corporation. Or, the stratification of an entire society can be examined.

Economic factors and stratification

Earlier studies made much use of the term "social classes," usually implying that stratification had an economic process. "Social class" and "class struggle" are concepts basic not only to the Marxian analysis of the nineteenth century but also in current literature. We acknowledge the importance of economic factors, but in this section we shall attempt to gain perspective on their actual functions in stratification.

In our everpresent competitive struggle for the good things of the earth—that is, for the things which people think are good: food, clothing, homes, automobiles, trips to Bermuda, and a college education—not everyone finishes with the same amount of these possessions. While some are on relief, others enjoy the winter in Florida. Observing this fact, we are likely to comment that one person belongs to the wealthy class and another to the poor.

Or, making another type of observation of,

1 Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure*, p. 14, Rinehart and Company, Inc., New York, 1957.
2 That is, with its *ranked* statuses.
3 Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (ed.), *Class, Status and Power*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1953.
4 *Social Stratification*, by Bernard Barber, © 1957, by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.
5 Kahl, *op. cit.*

this struggle for goods, we notice that some people work with their hands, punch time clocks, and receive wages. Others sit in private offices and receive salaries, or do not sit in offices at all, but through their brokers, make investments and receive dividends. The latter, we say, belong to the executive, the employer, the "moneyed," or the capitalist class, and the former to the working or the laboring class.

Although we are not quite sure what we mean when we call someone a capitalist and another a worker, if a John D. Rockefeller and a John, the ditch digger, were brought together, we would have little difficulty in distinguishing the two. They would differ in their appearance, but, more important for the sociologist, in their attitudes, their notions about one another, their interests, and loyalties. The "working-class man" is a part of a social structure. His place in the economic struggle gives him common concerns with others who work in factories and are paid wages. If he and other workers are conscious of their similar interests and do something about them, such as supporting each other's strikes, they show signs of becoming "class conscious." And if those who make investments and those who manage industry form employers' associations to fight the rise of unionism, or to organize lobby committees to defeat "social legislation," they, too, are to that extent class conscious.

Sociologists differ in their appraisal of the function of economic factors in stratification. They also differ in their estimate of the amount of class consciousness existing in American society and in their evaluation of social classes as agents for social change. Kurt B. Mayer is one who believes that class affiliation is important.

> Class affiliation, moreover, may become the basis for collective behavior and organized action. Sometimes classes struggle with other classes for political and economic ascendancy. Under certain conditions class interests may command the loyalty of their members and result in concerted activity in much the same way as nationality or religious affiliation. Thus classes can be a major factor in social change and play an important role not only in structuring the social relationship of the present but also in molding the social patterns of the future.[1]

Warner and his associates add to the same argument with illustrations from modern industrial communities and from the novelists who describe "life styles" in them. In spite of Warner's reputation for using a broad base in determining social classes, he states and implies economic underpinning of much of the social structure:

> Our great state papers, the orations of great men, and the principles and pronouncements of politicians and statesmen tell us of the equality of all men. Each schoolboy learns and relearns it; but most of us are dependent upon experience and indirect statement to learn about "the wrong side of the tracks," "the Gold Coast and the slums," and "the top and bottom of the social heap." We are proud of those facts of American life that fit the pattern we are taught, but somehow we are often ashamed of those equally important social facts which demonstrate the presence of social class. Consequently, we tend to deny them or, worse, denounce them and by so doing deny their existence and magically make them disappear from consciousness. We use such expressions as "the Century of the Common Man" to insist on our democratic faith; but we know that, ordinarily, for Common Men to exist as a class, un-Common superior and inferior men must also exist. We know that every town or city in the country has its "Country Club set" and that this group usually lives on its Gold Coast, its Main Line, North Shore, or Nob Hill, and is the top of the community's social heap. Most of us know from novels such as those of Sinclair Lewis of the Main Streets that run through all our towns and cities, populated by Babbitts or, more explicitly stated, by "the substantial upper-middle class"; and by now, thanks to another group of novelists such as Erskine Caldwell, we know there is a low road, a Tobacco Road, that runs not only by the ramshackle houses of the poor whites of the South, but by the tarpaper shanties of the slums and river bottoms of Goat Hills of every town and city in the United States.
>
> The "superior people" of Marquand's New England, "the North Shore crowd," divided into a top level of "old families" with a set of values and a way of life rated above those of the "new families," are matched by Philadelphia's "Main Line" families in Christopher Morley's *Kitty Foyle* and by similar groups in many other novels which report on the dominance of "the upper classes" in all regions of the United States. Reading them, together with similar novels reporting on Suburbia and Main Street for the middle classes and those on the Tobacco Roads and the city slums for the lower levels, gives one the understanding that throughout the towns and cities of America the inhabitants are divided into status levels which are ways of life with definite characteristics and values. . . .[2]

In his book *The Power Elite*,[3] C. Wright Mills vigorously sets forth his thesis that class

[1] Kurt B. Mayer, *Class and Society*, p. 1, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1955.

[2] W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America*, pp. 5–6, Science Research Associates, Chicago, 1949. Reprinted by permission of the publishers. The Harper Torchbook edition was published in 1960.

[3] C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1956.

consciousness is pronounced among the upper status levels just described by Warner and that it also functions to maintain and enhance the concentration of economic power to be found at that level.

There are those, however, who point out that the differences between economic levels in the United States are not sufficiently sharp to lead to extreme class consciousness. Furthermore, within each level, there are differences of interest. Even if employers have some common bonds, they also have reason to compete with one another, and there are likewise divisive forces among those who work for wages.

An incisive analysis of why class consciousness has been slow to develop in this country was made by Royal E. Montgomery in connection with his study of the American labor movement. He explained the traditional lack of class consciousness of the American workers on the basis of the following factors:

> Our vast expanse of free land, combined with public policy of making private ownership easily available to him who would undergo the hardships of pioneering, inevitably engendered a tendency on the part of the workers to identify themselves in interest and outlook with the propertied classes. It made, moreover, for a fluidity of social classes, for less consciousness of permanency of status.
>
> Other factors, some of them closely related to the one just mentioned, have inhibited the development of class consciousness among American workers. The mixture of races and nationalities, the transplanting of old-world traits and antagonisms, has prevented individual viewpoints from becoming crystallized into group attitudes. The early gift of the ballot and the fact that participation in political life has not been reserved for the upper classes have had inevitable effect in retarding the development of class consciousness, while the discouragement to independent party action on the political front, inherent in our governmental system, has minimized the importance of one field of action where the common character of the problem of all labor might be brought into clearer relief.[1]

Bernard Barber, after analyzing social mobility, concludes that this process is so pervasive that the American stratification system can more accurately be called the *American open-class stratification system.* He cites studies which show a persistence in this country of open-class sentiments and aspirations.[2] Barber summarizes his findings in the following paragraph, which is consistent with the observations of Montgomery:

> Certainly we can point to a number of social processes and social changes that have probably served to strengthen the American open-class stratification system. Education and educational opportunity, though still not equal for all, are changing in the direction of greater availability and equality. Political and other forms of social influence are becoming somewhat less unequally distributed among the social classes. The development of labor union organizations and of their participation in national and local politics has been one of the basic sources of the reduction of political and social inequality among the classes. As in England, the American tax system serves to diminish the differential advantages provided by accumulated family wealth; this system has recently become an even more effective instrument of this open-class function. Science and technology have continually been creating in American society new opportunities for entrepreneurial ability and new jobs requiring valued social and technical knowledge and skill. And these in turn provide continuing opportunities for social mobility. In general, conservative or reactionary inequalitarian ideologies and movements have either been lacking or strikingly unsuccessful in their appeals for support. Other social changes have at least not weakened, and sometimes they have actively strengthened, the set of conditions required for enlarging the realization of an open-class type of stratification system in the United States.[3]

Another author who is skeptical about the cohesiveness of social classes and who questions the Marxian theory of class struggle is Lewis L. Lorwin, who says: "In modern society the struggle of economic and social groups is fragmentary and intermittent, concentrated around issues of immediate and perhaps only temporary importance."[4] He refers to the greater prevalence of national loyalties as one explanation for the absence of strong class consciousness, and concludes:

> . . . The most that can be said is that there is a tendency toward the formation of economic and social groups and that their stratification and stability vary from one society to another in accordance with general economic and social conditions.[5]

George Simpson, in his attack upon all class definitions, is even more sweeping than Lorwin in denying the validity of the socialists' theory. He objects to the Marx and Engels conception of classes as economic conflict groups divided on the basis of owner-

[1] From an unpublished manuscript, by Royal E. Montgomery, later incorporated in essence in *Organized Labor*, pp. 6, 14–16, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., N. Y., 1945.
[2] *See* Barber, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–231.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 501–502. Kahl also characterizes the open-class system. *See* Kahl, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[4] From Lewis L. Lorwin, "Class Struggle," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 3, p. 541. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 541. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

ship of means of production. He holds that these authors have read into their class analysis an entire philosophy of history and a theory of social evolution.[1]

All this does not mean that economic factors in stratification have been ruled out by sociologists. Robin Williams in his *American Society* accepts the importance of economic considerations when he says:

> . . . in our modern society a person's *occupation* is one of the most important determinants of his whole way of living . . . it can be used to indicate, crudely at least, the relation of individuals to the means of production . . . and the way this relation affects their social and political attitudes.[2]

However, Williams does not look at the economic factor alone but always in social context:

> The ranking of individuals according to occupational activity is affected by two main considerations: the prestige of the occupation and the rank of the individual within it. . . .
>
> The individual's rank (his "standing") is dependent not only upon his occupation but upon his success in it; he is "the best doctor in town," "a leading lawyer," "the crack salesman in the Eastern District," and so on.[3]

We can summarize this discussion and move on to other pastures by saying: Field investigators today do not begin a research project guided by a social class concept so heavily laden with a priori economic ideas. To be sure, empirical studies do find the general notion of stratification useful, but they examine it in its social context. There are processes in every society which lead to the rigid or the loose ranking of people according to whatever values that society holds most dear.

The extensive field studies of W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues are a case in point. Their work, started in New England and later moved to the Midwest, emphasized *social prestige* factors as the basis for "ordering" people in the social classes of higher or lower rank. His workers found that the people of a community actually place their acquaintances on a prestige hierarchy. They know who holds the favored positions and what neighborhoods are regarded as "the best."

Noting the tendency of field investigators to stress the prestige approach to stratification, Kahl gives a neat comparison of the two views—the approach of the modern investigator or the preoccupation of the earlier theorist:

> Now, the observer has a choice. He can try to construct his summarizing scheme for describing prestige groups by reflecting as closely as possible a composite picture of the groups recognized by his informants, à la Warner, or he can try to describe those conditions which determine, in the long run, the basic elements of different styles of life, à la Marx and Weber. We can expect the field worker to lean in the first direction, the armchair thinker in the second.[4]

Ranking

Going beyond both the economic and the prestige approaches, Williams advances a more general and theoretical definition. It is his view that differentiation can operate on *any values* held important by the society. Simply stated, " 'Stratification' of society, whatever else it may mean, certainly denotes *some* way whereby some kinds of units are arranged in *some* kinds of strata." [5] In fact, as he explains:

> Every classification of human beings is also a potential *ranking*, and the number of possible classifications is indefinitely large. We might stratify people according to their emotional stability, their ability to play badminton, their knowledge of medieval Latin, the color of their hair, the number of friends they have, the reputation of their ancestors. Actually, only a few of the qualities of individuals or groups are seized upon as either criteria or symbols of station. Nevertheless, all known societies have some system of ranking their constituent members or groups along some kind of superiority-inferiority scale. Theoretically, all individuals might be valued *equally* but in no large-scale or long-continued social grouping have they been so; the differential valuation of men is a universal formal property of social systems.[6]

Williams then defines social stratification as ". . . the *ranking of individuals on a scale of superiority-inferiority-equality, according to some commonly accepted basis of valuation.*" [7]

When a "common basis of valuation" does

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[1] For this discussion see, George Simpson, "Class Analysis: What Class Is Not," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 4, p. 832, December, 1939.

[2] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, second edition, revised p. 93, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1960. Reprinted by permission. The italicizing is ours.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 93–94. Reprinted by permission. If the occupation of a person can be ranked according to its *prestige*, then Williams' reference to the success of a given person in that occupation—that is, his role performance—can be designated as *esteem*.

[4] Kahl, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Reprinted by permission.

[5] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89. The italicizing of "ranking" is ours. Reprinted by permission.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

not exist, ranking becomes impossible, as Williams points out:

> How . . . does one judge accurately the relative standing of a Spanish bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, a Brahmin, a French general, an American millionaire, a Russian commissar, a Swedish scientist, a member of the English nobility? [1]

It is within a single society that the common values for determining privilege, responsibility, and prestige can be found. Stratification as a process of ranking statuses can therefore best be studied within single societies.

To summarize his analysis, Williams concludes:

> Much confusion in the consideration of stratification can be avoided by holding fast to the following elementary distinctions.
>
> 1. Stratification refers to the existence of a rank order. Such an order *can have a specific meaning only within a given social system.*
> 2. Any given ranking system can be analyzed in terms of:
>   (a) *the distribution of objective privileges,* e.g., income, wealth, safety (health, crime rates), authority, etc.;
>   (b) *rankings* by members of the society (prestige and esteem);
>   (c) the *criteria of rank,* whether personal qualities or achievements, family membership, possessions, authority, or power;
>   (d) the *symbols of rank,* e.g., style of life, clothing, housing, organizational membership, etc.;
>   (e) the *ease or difficulty* and *frequency of changes in rank-position;*
>   (f) the *solidarity among individuals or groups sharing a similar position* in the system:
>   (1) *interaction patterns* (clique structures, common organizational memberships, intermarriage, etc.);
>   (2) *similarity or dissimilarity of beliefs, attitudes, values;*
>   (3) *consciousness of stratification position shared with others;*
>   (4) *concerted action as a collectivity*—for instance, "class warfare." [2]

Any approach to stratification study appears to be included in Williams' outline. For example, sociologists who are looking for objective, countable criteria of stratification find this idea covered in point (a). Those who would see as most important the *attitudes* of people about their positions in life can place their studies under points (b) and (d) of the outline. Whoever is more interested in studying movement from one rank to another, that is, social mobility, finds his approach provided for in Williams' point (e). And those who see in stratification the solid structure of society and the basis for group cohesiveness find their guide line in point (f). The subpoint (4) ties stratification to collective behavior, social movements, and earlier theories of class struggle.

From general theory to field studies

Stratification field studies are numerous and varied. Harold M. Hodges, Jr., for example, devoted three years to a stratification study in a single county of California. He chose one reputed for its excessive rate of growth and for its high proportion of suburbanites, most of whom work in a nearby metropolis. Hodges characterizes the trend in this type of research and then describes his own goal:

> The past two decades have witnessed a marked renascence of interest in the phenomenon of social stratification—a topic which had remained in a relative state of limbo since the turn-of-the-century concern with the issue fired by the tenets of Marx and Veblen.
>
> Coincidental with the increasingly quantitative bent of sociology, the recent proliferation of stratificational literature has leaned heavily in the direction of empirical analyses of the class structure and dynamics; but in the past five years a growing number of more speculative and theoretically oriented studies have appeared.
>
> It was the purpose of this research to assess the significance of a selected array of hypotheses and conclusions advanced by students of the subject during the past twenty years. The initial phase of the study, a project still in process, has been exploratory in nature.[3]

Preliminary findings from this study are interesting in their novelty and in their bearing upon personality formation. Here is one paragraph:

> The "status-striving," "anxiety-ridden" upper-middle-class personality was not discernible in the study's data; rather . . . it appeared to be the *lower*-class subject who is most typified by such syndromes of traits. Closer analysis of the data further indicates that it is above all the upper-lower class (blue collar) person who has recently moved to the suburbs who is most characterized by status concern and "role anxiety." Buttressing these conclusions were the correlative efforts to probe degrees of "other-directedness" . . . and conformism to neighborhood and peer values. Again, it was the lower-class—not the middle-class—respondent, and particularly the blue-collar arriviste in suburbia, who appeared to be the most fearful of deviating from

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 89. Reprinted by permission.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 91–92. Reprinted by permission.

[3] This is taken from page one of an unpublished research document by Harold M. Hodges, Jr., entitled *Correlates of Stratificational Positions in a California Metropolitan Area,* San Jose State College, San Jose, California, 1960.

what he perceived to be neighborhood values and folkways.[1]

The author adds an appropriate warning: ". . . it must be cautioned that the survey, although conducted with caution, may not be safely generalized as typifying urban California populations."[2] He explains that the original survey involving 1,000 subjects in the county is to be continued in collaboration with a psychologist who will use clinical personality inventory items and tape-recorded, open-ended questionnaire instruments. The work of Hodges is illustrative of the complexity of this type of research and the care which is being taken by sophisticated workers in the field.

Field studies of social stratification in America are summarized by John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel.[3] They note how extensive the research has been in this area. To a bibliography of 333 items prepared the year before their book was published, in 1954, they added another 100, and the accumulation since that time is still at a high rate. Barber also refers to the widespread interest in this field when he says, "Perhaps a hundred articles and books a year—no small number in any area of sociological study—appear and make their various contributions to cumulative knowledge."[4]

In most bibliographies on stratification, Warner and his colleagues appear more frequently than any other scholars. Warner's work is community-centered, not a society-wide analysis. In *Plainville, U.S.A.*, James A. West found that the people of the community, in deciding the social status of their friends and neighbors, give importance to such factors as the "way a man makes a living," family background, moral reputation, and social manners. They discovered that the class structure is viewed differently by different groups in the community.[5]

Two systems for investigating and measuring social status are developed by Warner in *Social Class in America*, which book he calls by the subtitle "A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status." One method is known as "Evaluated Participation," and the other as the "Index of Status Characteristics."

> Together they provide accurate procedures for measuring social class and the class position of individuals, for validating results obtained, and for translating social class and socioeconomic status categories into terms which are interchangeable.[6]

That persons ". . . who interact in the social system of a community evaluate the participation of those around them . . ." is the premise on which Warner developed his Evaluated Participation method. Warner further assumes that people are aware of these rankings and can rate their acquaintances according to social-class position.[7]

The I.S.C. (Index of Status Characteristics) is, according to Warner, a measurement of social class and is primarily an index of socio-economic factors. The four status characteristics used in the Index are "Occupation, Source of Income, House Type, and Dwelling Area."[8]

> While the four characteristics—occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area—are needed to derive an I.S.C., often it is necessary to know only two facts about an individual: his occupation and his address. The first gives occupation itself and also source of income. Ordinarily, a man working in a factory receives a wage, a man working in an office receives a salary, and a man who runs his own business receives profits. The address tells where he lives, and, consequently, when the houses have been classified and the dwelling areas defined, the other two characteristics, house type and dwelling area, are known.[9]

A full description of Warner's method requires 261 pages in his manual. "This manual describes the techniques which comprise each method and gives detailed instructions as to how a technique is used by itself and in interrelation with the other techniques. . . ."[10] It also shows ". . . how the inexpensive and simply applied I.S.C. may be substituted for the other method and used largely by itself. . . ."[11]

While Warner believes that his method can be used in any type of community, the various critics of Warner and his associates deny that the methods are equally applicable to all

1 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
3 John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, *Social Stratification in the United States*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1945.
4 Barber, *op. cit.*, p. vii.
5 James A. West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1946.
6 Warner, Meeker, and Eells, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*, p. 40.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 36. Reprinted by permission.

types of communities. The methods stress the associational and attitudinal approaches, giving less attention to the impersonal, economic, and categorical classifications. Ruth Rosner Kornhauser tells why she thinks the methods are more appropriate for the small community:

The existence of the type of class structure Warner describes depends on the ability of most members of the community to make status evaluations of each other's conduct. In a small town, an individual's family background, his clique and associational participations are likely to be known and talked about. Similarly, his occupation and financial situation are highly visible and are often closely related to his other participations in the community. . . . In a large city, on the other hand, there is such a wide range of opportunities that occupational hierarchies may be segregated. Ethnic and racial divisions, occupational and financial divisions break the metropolis up into a mosaic of separate worlds. In such a situation there is likely to be not one over-all ranked hierarchy but several disparate hierarchies, each having its own scale of esteem.

In the large city, contacts are mainly secondary rather than primary; hence the type of intimate participation patterns by which prestige class placement is effected in small towns are largely absent in the great metropolis. By virtue of sheer size, the city guarantees anonymity for its inhabitants in large areas of their lives; as a result, the information necessary to place people in a prestige hierarchy is not available except to one's intimates. . . .

For all these reasons it is felt that the relevance of the study of prestige classes may be limited to small towns. In the metropolis, it is suggested, the study of power hierarchies and groups based on "interests" may prove to be a more fruitful focus of inquiry for the class analyst.[1]

Warner's systems of analysis may be criticized, the premises questioned, and the conclusions doubted, but Warner has brought together an immense store of organized information about stratification in modern communities. He has given other researchers something to work from, and the armchair critics much to talk about.

A co-worker of Warner, and later an independent investigator, August B. Hollingshead, is also noted for his field studies and for methods of analysis which he and his staff have developed. Concerning Hollingshead's work, Kahl says:

He worked out a simple and effective rating procedure which is probably the best technique we now have for studying the prestige stratification of a small community. First he developed a small list of families spread throughout the system and learned their prestige rank. Then he asked informants to compare the rank of the families who had children in his sample to those on the list. In this way the master or control list became his measuring rod. The procedure is similar to Warner's Rating by Matched Agreements plus Rating by Comparison, but Hollingshead is more systematic in his operations, and, equally important, he is more careful to describe adequately every step of those operations.[2]

Hollingshead has paid special attention to stratification problems as they are related to the field of health. *Social Class and Mental Illness*[3] is an example. Numerous students who have graduated from his program are now engaged in research and teaching as sociologists in medical schools and schools of nursing.

Another researcher, influenced by Hollingshead but with many original touches of his own, is Ivan C. Belknap. In his field study, Belknap did not start out to prepare a volume on stratification, nor did he study a community. He was simply examining *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital.* The graduate students who secured jobs as ward attendants in the hospital began to uncover a wealth of information which Belknap found could best be analyzed in terms of systems of communication and of stratification. Concerning his organizational diagram, Belknap comments:

Our interviews and observations in the hospital indicate that levels I, II, and III are separated from each other by wide differences in social class background, with a particularly wide gulf between level III and the two upper levels. These social differences are sufficient to prevent any intimate communication between the professionals and the attendants, except in very rare cases. The attendant and professional literally do not talk the same language. As a result there is much avoidance between the groups, and a large amount of hostility, particularly on the part of the attendants. The ideas of the upper and lower groups on the subject of mental disease are quite different.[4]

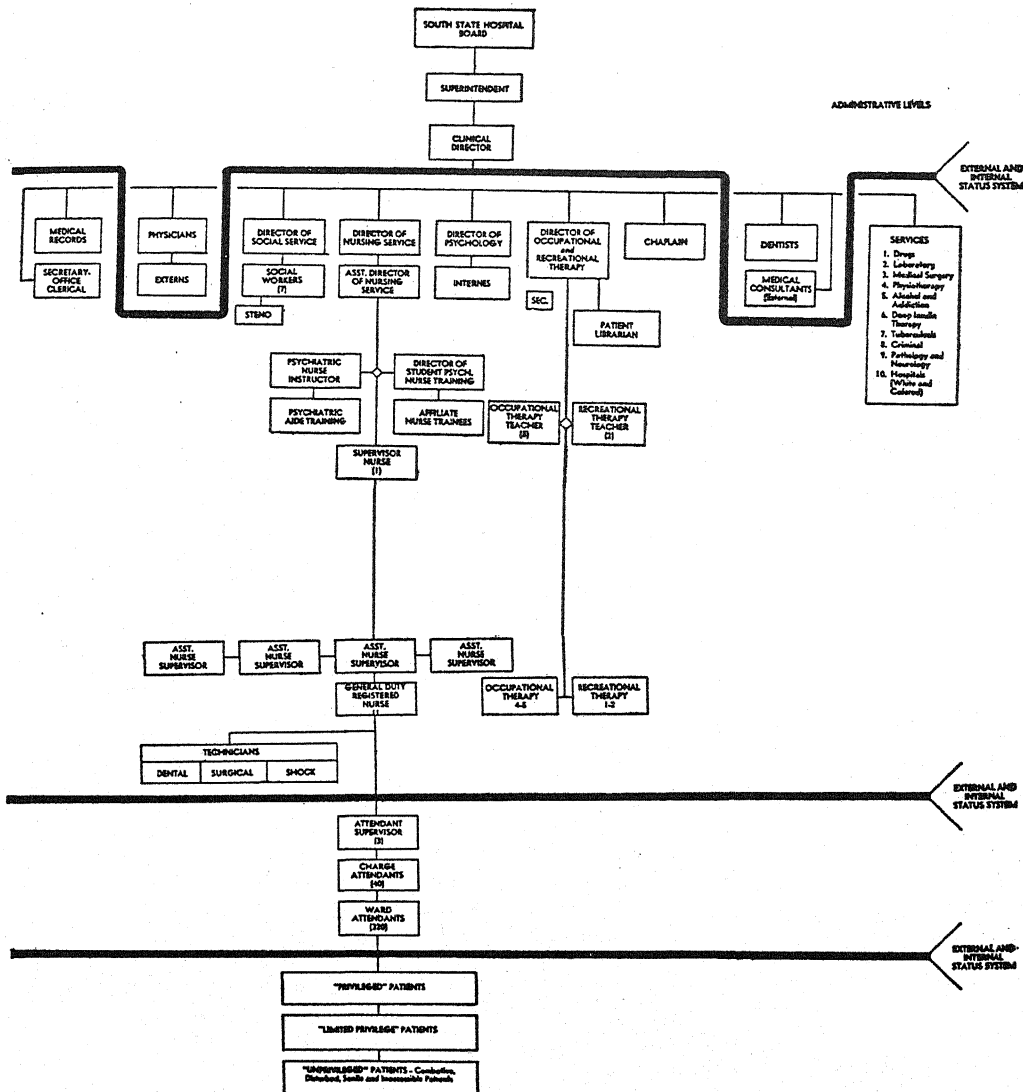
Belknap further shows the relation of status differences to the actual treatment of patients.

In practice, as it deals with its patients, the hospital operates in terms of four somewhat separate groups arranged as a hierarchy, with physicians at the top; social workers, psychologists, registered nurses, and office workers in the second level; ward

[1] Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Kahl, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Reprinted by permission.

[3] August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness*, John Wiley and Sons, N. Y., 1958.

[4] By permission from *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital*, by Ivan Belknap. Copyright, 1956. Blakiston Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Clinical organization chart.

attendants and supervisors in the third; and patients in the fourth. These levels not only reflect the formal authority of the internal hospital system but also conform rather closely to the relative status of the groups in the world outside the hospital. A characteristic of this total system is that the levels with the most authority, training, and prestige are the farthest removed from the patient population of the hospital in terms of daily individual contact, and administrative work is the most heavily concentrated on those positions in the system which also carry the greatest medical and psychiatric responsibility for treating the patient.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 68. Reprinted by permission. *See* also Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital*, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1954. Note especially Chapter 13, "A Sociology of Mental Illness: The Relation Between Formal and Informal Structure.

How have we managed so long to review field studies and other analyses of stratification without once mentioning the term *social caste?* Usually this concept comes in the same breath with its companion phrase *social class*. Also, when caste is discussed, the writer invariably cites India as the example of its operation in "pure" form, and race relations in the United States as its modified or caste-like manifestation. Does our delay in introducing the term imply that the concept is losing its utility? Does the trend toward open-class

stratification systems already reported cause scholars to judge that the concept *caste* is a bit too far removed from reality? These questions need not be settled. A sociological concept is merely a tool of analysis. Caste is another way of looking at human relationships. As such, it does have utility.

Social caste

Unlike social class, the term caste refers to a stratified relationship which is absolute and into which one is born. According to Williams:

> . . . *caste,* is a system in which an individual's rank and its accompanying rights and obligations is *ascribed* on the basis of birth into a particular group. In the theoretical, fully-developed system, birth alone determines the person's class; no change is possible because of personal qualities or achievements.[1]

Furthermore, "In a caste or caste-like society, the 'upper' groups control the criteria for ranking and successfully impose their standards upon the whole society."[2] As already mentioned, the classic example is that of India. Here is a typical description of it which may not remain true for long, if indeed it is now. Life is on the move in that land of 400 million people.

> The stratification system of India has often been described as consisting of five broad groupings or categories of social classes. These five include the four great *varnas* or castes and the one group made up of all the outcastes. This fivefold categorization is a religious one, making distinctions primarily on the basis of relative ritual purity. The four *varnas* are the Brahmans; the Ksatriyas, or Rajputs as they have been more recently called; the Vaishyas; and the Shudras. The Brahmans, who have special religious roles and functions, are the most ritually pure caste. All the others are measured as more and less pure than one another in terms of the types of contact they may have with the Brahmans. The Ksatriyas, or Rajputs, are the caste that have the ruling and military roles. The Vaishyas are freemen, with various occupations, less pure than the two higher castes. The Shudras are the ritually "unclean" or impure manual laborers and slaves. However, they are defined as still in the caste system, even if at the bottom of it. Below all the castes, most "unclean" of all, are the outcastes, whose very shadow, let alone touch, may be defiling to a top-caste Brahman.[3]

Unlike the class hierarchy which permits movement up and down, the essence of caste is its *categoric limitation on vertical social movement.* Quite generally, the caste lines follow the functional (occupational) divisions of the society, and as members of a new generation are born into the occupations of their parents, they automatically become members of a given caste and learn to act accordingly. But as was true in the analysis of class, we must allow for other factors as well as occupation. Indeed, in Negro-white relations in the United States, the occupational lines are not altogether uniform and rigid, and the superficial factor of pigmentation becomes the categoric principle. Because of color, and in spite of all other personal, social, and occupational abilities, the individual is traditionally "held in his place" through the combined force of folkways, mores, laws, and institutional arrangements.

A summary of the characteristics of those stratified relationships to which the term caste rather than class is applicable may be helpful. In caste relationships:

1) The limitation on social participation or vertical movement is categoric.

2) Some superficial, easily identifiable trait is used as a label to set apart those of lower and higher rank. (Physiological differences like color are convenient labels, but when there is no such distinction between the groups, other labels have to be found. In some countries and in some periods Jews have been forced to wear distinctive garb so they might be easily recognized at all times and given differential treatment. The Nazis used tattoo marks to identify some of their slave labor groups.)

3) The individual is born into the caste group and cannot move to higher rank regardless of his personal attributes.

4) The individual is prohibited from marrying a person of another rank in the caste hierarchy (but he may marry outside his class).

5) If there are variations in the arbitrary trait which determines one's caste position, these variations enter the class structure of the lower caste as one of the factors in determining social position (as, for example, shades of darkness in the case of the Negro).

6) The formal organization of the community (governmental, educational, religious, and recreational institutions) becomes adjusted to and enforces caste more openly than it does class restrictions.

[1] Williams, *op. cit.,* pp. 98–99. Reprinted by permission.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 99.
[3] Barber, *op. cit.,* p. 80. Reprinted by permission.

Using more technical terms, which, however, have essentially the same meaning and stating more specifically the point which we have implied, that "higher" rank means greater privilege, Warner and Davis give a clear-cut summary of the matter:

Briefly, caste may be defined as a rank order of superior-superordinate orders with inferior-subordinate orders which practice endogamy, prevent vertical mobility, and unequally distribute the desirable and undesirable social symbols. Class may be defined as a rank order of superior and inferior orders which allows both exogamy and endogamy, permits movement either up or down the system, or allows an individual to remain in the status to which he was born; it also unequally distributes the lower and higher evaluated symbols.[1]

As a final word of caution, we should remember that caste and class as we have used them are not *a priori* logical terms so much as they are sociological concepts. That is to say, we use the terms as descriptive of a social reality and not as absolute, inherently separate categories. Classes and castes are both stratified categories—and they are different from one another, but in the last analysis the difference is a relative one. To the *more* rigidly separated strata, to those whose barriers are more superficial, artificial, and arbitrary, and to those groups that are held in place by more of the institutionalized features of a society, we apply the term "caste." To those *less* rigidly separated levels, which, though they are held apart to some extent by institutionalized arrangements, are enforced more generally at the informal level of the mores, we apply the term "class."

We have become accustomed to think of India as the society which illustrates caste lines in pure form, but S. Radhakrishnan[2] has assembled evidence which shows that even there caste is no "cosmic" matter but is a relationship which has a natural history and is constantly undergoing some change, slow but perceptible. At the other extreme, Hawaii, which has been popularly assumed to be entirely without class and caste barriers, does upon closer study show signs of stratification. One Chinese-Hawaiian reports as follows:

You can't say that all the *hapa-pake* (half-Chinese) associate only with each other. We associate only with people of our class. We can't associate with people down Kakaako way. The first class Hawaiian not allow to associate with second class. May be poor, but blood good. I associate with pure Hawaiian, *hapa-pake* and, maybe, *hapa-haole* if they are of my class. I don't care for any people not in my class. Not because I am Chinese-Hawaiian must I associate with them. Maybe in school we say, 'hello,' but not familiar friend.[3]

Even before the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation, some of the caste-like features of relations between Negroes and whites were undergoing change in the United States. World War II and the Korean War brought close association between colored and white troops. Segregation was modified and later abolished in the military units, even in the military hospitals in the South, and in public schools on military reservations.

Stouffer's army research, reported in Chapter One, revealed substantial prejudice reduction under combat conditions.[4] Changing patterns were also found in civilian life. Airplane passenger service began and continued on a nonsegregated basis. Pullman reservations and equal treatment on dining cars were more easily obtained. Segregated schools often had nonsegregated staff meetings. Hotels which would not provide rooms for Negroes did allow nonsegregated banquets for professional groups if they reserved private dining halls. Change and resistance to change proceeded side by side. W. Lloyd Warner summarizes the *yes* and *no* situation in these words:

When some men learn that *all* the American Dream (that all men are born free and equal) does not fit *all* that is true about the realities of our life, they denounce the Dream and deny the truth of *any* of it. Fortunately, most of us are wiser and better adjusted to social reality; we recognize that, though it is called a Dream and though some of it is false, by virtue of our belief in it we have made some of it true. Despite the presence of social hierarchies which place people at higher and lower levels in American communities, the principles of democracy do operate; the Christian dogma that all men are equal in the sight of God because He is our Father and we are His spiritual children, buttressed by the democratic faith in the equality of men and the insistence on their equal rights as citizens, is a powerful influence in the daily life of America.[5]

[1] W. Lloyd Warner and Allison Davis, "A Comparative Study of American Caste," in Edgar T. Thompson, editor, *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, p. 229, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1939. Reprinted by permission.

[2] S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. 1, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922.

[3] Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, p. 96, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1937. Reprinted by permission.

[4] Samuel A. Stouffer, *American Soldier*, 2 vols. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1949.

[5] Warner, Meeker, Eells, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

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Chapter 13

Race and Race-Conscious Groups

Race-Conscious Behavior

Three years ago yesterday Negroes deserted the city's segregated bus system in a mass protest demonstration.

The objectives of the protest did not include desegregated seating. The Negroes' demands were:

More courteous treatment from bus operators.

Seating on a first-come, first-served basis with Negroes continuing to be seated from the rear and whites from the front.

Employment of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes.

The bus company refused these requests, although Negroes made up about 75 per cent of its passengers. The year-long boycott followed, punctuated by threats, intimidation and violence, including the bombing of the home of the Rev. Martin Luther King.

Dr. King heads the Montgomery Improvement Association, formed by Negro leaders to carry on the boycott.

Another organization, the White Citizens Council, also developed significant strength during the trouble and soon counted among its membership the Mayor and the Police Commissioner.

"Race-Conscious Behavior" (heading is ours) is from *The New York Times*, December 7, 1958, p. L59.

High court decisive

The boycott ended when the United States Supreme Court on Nov. 13, 1956 held the bus segregation laws of Alabama and Montgomery unconstitutional.

Today, Negro bus riders sit where they please.

Although there were incidents immediately following bus desegregation, officials reported little trouble now.

Dr. King, who achieved international prominence for his role in the boycott, said in an interview that the bus problem "is history."

He noted that there were few complaints of trouble between white and Negro passengers and that the drivers were "very courteous."

"In the general atmosphere of the white community," he said, "there seems to be a new respect—not love—for the Negro. They seem to be saying 'we didn't know it was in them.' "

Moderates are casualities

However, Dr. King and other observers on both sides of the controversy said that the bus boycott had left traces of bitterness and some casualties, among them the white moderate.

"The moderate finds himself now in a position where he can hardly function," commented the minister. This was the result, he and the others agreed, of the enforced choosing of sides during the dispute.

The hardening of the lines within the community was generally expected to continue as a result of Dr. King's disclosure Thursday that the Negroes would take steps shortly to seek an end to school segregation.

* * *

Race—what is it?

How groups of people understand the term "race"; how they behave toward people who belong to "another race"; and how attitudes and structures change in the relationship of groups—these are the important considerations for the student of sociology.

"Race" is not a sociological term. It is biological and anthropological. At one time physical anthropologists had great scientific sport classifying races of the world according to physical characteristics like pigmentation, hair on the body, nose form and stature. There was little agreement in the list of characteristics to be measured and in the number of races which resulted. The physical anthro-

pologist, Stanley M. Garn, commenting upon this earlier approach, said, "Up to 1950, the study of race in man consisted primarily of detailed descriptions of different races and populations, made for strictly comparative purposes." [1] Various classifications have listed as few as two races and as many as 200. "Of two books on race that appeared in 1950, one distinguished six races . . . while another described thirty . . ." [2]

Some truce in the confusion of defining race and classifying races came when the physical anthropologists developed two different meanings, or concepts: geographical race and a local race.

> A geographical race is, in simplest terms, a collection of (race) populations having features in common, such as a high gene frequency for blood group B, and extending over a geographically definable area. In man, as in other widely ranging mammals, the geographical limits often correspond to continental areas. This is due to the fact that seas, oceans, and major mountain chains are more effective barriers to migration and "gene-flow" than are rivers and smaller land elevations.
>
> . . . we need not expect precise accord between geographical areas and geographical races in such an adaptable and footloose species as man. Rather, we mean to stress the fact that the taxonomic unit immediately below the species is best defined as a geographical race.[3]

The authors tell what they mean by *local race,* their second concept. By this term they are referring to a people who have been isolated so long that biologically they can be referred to as a breeding population. They may have been a mixture of many peoples at a still earlier time but, for a period of generations or centuries, have been cut off from migrations and have perpetuated some characteristics as an isolated population. Here is how the authors say it:

> In contrast to geographical races, which are assemblages or collections of local race-populations and whose marginal members may be somewhat in dispute, there are also the populations called local races in the present terminology. These are units that can be subjected to study . . . , and these are the units that change most in evolutionary time. In many cases such local races can be identified, not so much by average differences, but by their nearly complete isolation.[4]

The broad term "geographical race," as applied to similar populations inhabiting a continental area or island chain, yields the number of six or seven races because there are that many land areas and populations which meet this description.[5] How many local races one might identify depends upon how small an isolated population he is willing to consider. If the limited number on Pitcairn Island satisfies him, then there are many, many local races.

The authors regard their first term geographical races as ". . . useful more for pedagogic purposes than as units for empirical investigation." [6] On the other hand, their concept of local races refers to populations susceptible to direct study which:

> . . . also afford insight into the evolutionary mechanisms still at work in shaping man. For such purposes a complete enumeration of the number of races of man is needless. A numerically small, out-of-the-way population of recent and hybrid origin may prove more informative than a large western population extending backward to the dawn of European civilization.[7]

The emancipation of anthropologists from the necessity of publishing neat charts which place the populations of the world in racial categories has been a drastic scholarly shift! Their present approach is a functional one. They study what is worth studying. That is, they find an isolated population which has lived centuries without interbreeding with outside populations. They begin with the genetic and physiological characteristics, and their co-workers, the ethnologists, may continue with cultural traits.

A detached interest toward this trend in physical anthropology is necessary because the important point is how people feel and act about race. This may have a relationship to the biological characteristics of a population but often it does not. Even so, we are grateful to the anthropologist for clarifying the concepts about the biology and geography of race. In his ethnological studies, the anthropologist and the sociologist are close partners.

Illustrating the factor of how people feel

1 Stanley M. Garn (ed.), *Readings on Race,* p. 3, Charles C Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1960.

2 Stanley M. Garn and Carleton S. Coon, "On the Number of Races of Mankind," *American Anthropologist,* vol. 57, p. 996, October, 1955.

3 *Ibid.,* p. 997. Reprinted by permission.

4 *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.

5 *Ibid.,* Adapted from p. 999.

6 *Ibid.,* p. 1000.

7 *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission. In a subsequent book Dr. Garn carried his classification to a greater degree of refinement by distinguishing between geographical, local, and micro-race (which stresses the importance to human association of physical proximity). *See* Stanley M. Garn, *Human Races,* pp. 12–22, Charles C Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1960.

America's children of many shapes, colors, and backgrounds do not fit neatly into racial pigeonholes. Nor do Americans stay in one place long enough to develop extensive inbreeding through isolation. There are some remote cultural and biological islands in the world but few, if any, in this country. (Courtesy Esther Bubley, New York)

about race is one of the prevalent attitudes related to race—an attitude which underlies much social conflict between racial groups—that based on the notion of preserving "racial purity."

Racial purity—a basis of cultural superiority?

Even the isolated groups which Garn and Coon call races were not that way in the beginning. They may have had centuries of mixing before one unit settled in a certain area. We know that human migrations with their resulting mixture of different races have occurred repeatedly throughout history. As far back as records reveal, Syria has been a highway of the world, bringing together divergent types from many countries; Europe has received wave after wave of invaders from the East; stable China has known many great movements of population; and, in modern times, North and South America have vied with each other in jumbling together every variety of human life. After describing the migrations of primitive groups, Edward B. Reuter concluded that "in the present industrial and commercial era, the rapid means of communication, the safety of travel, and the cheapness of transportation have brought about an amount of migration far in excess of that of previous times." [1] If different peoples thus come together and live in the same territory, miscegenation (interbreeding) is bound to occur in spite of barriers which social prejudice may erect.

Mixture through intermarriage takes place rapidly when the interracial contacts are friendly. If the relations are antagonistic, as when one race dominates another, intermarriage is prohibited by the "superior" group, which wants to preserve its "purity." This, however,

> . . . does not prevent the amalgamation of the races, perhaps does not even retard the pace of racial mixture. In a slave regime there is more or less open appropriation of the women of the subject group to serve the needs of the master class. . . . As a result of this fusion of foreign blood, the physical characters of the servile group are progressively modified and in each new generation approach more nearly to those of the slave-holding caste.[2]

If Europe, like the rest of the world, has been so notoriously a land of migrations, belief in the biological "purity" of the French or the German people is without scientific and historical basis. Even the Jewish people, whom the man-on-the-street assumes to be a distinct race, has known no century when contact with other peoples has not been followed by some intermixture.

> The Jews are . . . a group whose history is known from the beginning. In the beginning they were probably a mixture of Amorites, Hittites, and Semites. Throughout their history there have been appreciable infiltrations of foreign blood from every people among whom they have lived and to whose culture they have become to a degree assimilated. There is a multitude of Jewish types; they vary greatly from country to country, tending always to approximate the physical types among whom they live. Over one-third of the English, German, and Austrian Jews have light hair and nearly one-half have light eyes; some 10 per cent of the European Jews are blonds, fully 40 per cent are of mixed type. The Jews have long since ceased to be a racial type. Their identity is maintained on other grounds. What is true of the Jews is in general true of other sectarian groups of endogamous tradition.[3]

Does this same fact of racial mixture also apply to our own country, which many people have dreamed of as the promised land of the "Nordic race"? Robert E. Park held that "in actual numbers, if not in percentages of their total populations, the United States and Brazil have the largest contingents of mixed-blood peoples—as the term is ordinarily construed—of any countries of the world." [4] In the United States not only have the Smiths, O'Reillys, and McGinneses from the British Isles mixed with the Capolinis of Italy, the Zlotkins of Russia, and the Kyllonens of Finland to give us a heterogeneous population, but in addition to this, some of our ancestors did not shun contact with the American Indian nor overlook the opportunity of turning Negroes into mulattoes. Intermarriage with Indians and Negroes has been slight; interbreeding—not so uncommon. The research of Melville J. Herskovits, dealing with racial crossing in the United States, which has included a sampling of more than three thousand Negro genealogies, brought him to the conclusion that about 78 per cent of the American Negro population show traces of mixed European or of Indian ancestry.[5] A

1 Edward B. Reuter, *Race Mixture*, p. 27, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

2 Edward B. Reuter, editor, in "Introduction" to *Race and Culture Contacts*, pp. 8, 9, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1934. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

3 Reuter, *Race and Culture Contacts*, p. 10. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

4 Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Cultural Frontiers," Chapter Five in *ibid.*, pp. 61, 62. *See also* "28 Million Who Pass," in *Time*, vol. 71, p. 47, June 30, 1958.

5 Melville J. Herskovits, *The American Negro*, pp. 8, 9, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1928; *see also* Melville J. Herskovits, *The Anthropometry of the American Negro*,

study of this type based on family genealogies may not be altogether accurate, but the errors relate to the exact percentage and not to the basic fact of intermixture.

In looking for a "pure type" one might turn to isolated Africa, but Kroeber will not permit even this to be considered an exception.

> . . . there is a belt extending across most of Africa, and quite wide in East Africa, of which it is difficult to say whether the inhabitants belong more to the Negro or to the Caucasian type. If we construct a racial map and represent the demarcation between Negro and Caucasian by a line, we are really misrepresenting the situation. The truth could be expressed only by inserting a transition zone of mixed color. Yet as soon as we allow such transitions, the definiteness of our classification begins to crumble.[1]

Reuter commented that "even among the various Negro tribes of Africa only two or three at most are without a distinct trace of ancient or recent intermixture with other racial stocks." [2] In some parts of the world there are, of course, population pockets whose isolation is so complete that undoubtedly no mixture has occurred for centuries. But in general, and certainly in the Western world, the fact of miscegenation of races is well established.

Racial differences in mental ability

Some who would follow the foregoing reasoning about the intermixture of peoples may agree that Germany and the United States cannot claim purity of race, but hopefully insist that at least all white people can think of themselves as a race, and, in this case, a superior race. This hope is not quickly dismissed. Even the person who has never heard of anthropometric measurements knows for certain that he is physically different from the West African, the Polynesian, and the American Indian. And he probably is. If, then, he differs in the color of his skin and blood type is it not reasonable to suppose that he is also different mentally? He is especially interested in proving himself mentally different and superior, because it is a well-established folkway in America to regard intelligence as a general index of ability. For a number of years scientists have given attention to this question. What, briefly, are some of the findings regarding the mentality of races?

Taking the results of tests at their face value, we can find considerable outlay of evidence of racial differences in mental ability. In an elaborate study conducted by Davenport and Steggerda in Jamaica in which 100 cases of Negroes, 100 cases of whites, and 100 mulattoes were measured, the authors found the white cases superior to the other two groups and the Negroes in third place. Generalizing on the problem of racial differences they concluded:

> There are anthropologists who doubt if there is satisfactory evidence that the main races of mankind differ in innate capacity for mental operations. . . . While we also would not deny the possibility for further development of primitive peoples, especially by additions to tradition and by early intensive culture, that does not state that we agree that all such primitive peoples have the same "native endowment." [3]

Contrary to this view, Otto Klineberg, in his review of research dealing with race differences, holds that although significant individual differences appear when psychological tests are given to large numbers of people, the group differences are of little value if they are assumed to measure the innate mental capacity of races.[4] With reference to comparative intelligence of Negroes and whites, he states:

> The direct comparison between Negroes and whites will always remain a doubtful procedure because of the impossibility of controlling the various factors which may influence the results. Intelligence tests may therefore not be used as measures of group differences in native ability,[5] though they may be used profitably as measures of accomplishment. When comparisons are made within the same race or group, it can be demonstrated that there are very marked differences depending upon variations in background. These differences may be satisfactorily explained, therefore, without recourse to the hypothesis of innate racial differences in mental ability.[6]

In support of this conclusion Klineberg cites the results of a study of the relation be-

p. 18, Columbia University Press, New York, 1930. Wirth and Goldhamer are of the opinion that the studies of Herskovits have produced the most reliable figure we have: *see* Louis Wirth and Herbert Goldhamer, "The Hybrid and the Problem of Miscegenation," in Otto Klineberg, editor, *Characteristics of the American Negro*, pp. 263–275. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944.

[1] A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, p. 126, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1948. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[2] Reuter, *Race Mixture, op. cit.*, p. 28.

[3] C. B. Davenport and Morris Steggerda, *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, p. 468, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., 1929. Reprinted by permission.

[4] Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences*, chapter 8, pp. 152–179, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1935.

[5] To be consistent at this point with the distinction made in Chapter Seven, this sentence should be changed to read "capacity" instead of "ability."

[6] Klineberg, *op. cit.*, p. 189. Reprinted by permission.

tween intelligence and educational opportunities. He found that Negroes living in New York City, where they have almost equal educational advantages with the white children, test markedly higher than their fellow Negroes in some of the southern communities which have segregated schools. Moreover, the intelligence rating of southern colored children who move to New York City increases, on the average, every year they are there until they have been residents for four or five years, when their test scores are equal to those of white children of similar education and social standing.[1]

Such a study tends to show that the tests do not measure pure intellectual capacity, but measure a mixture of native intelligence and cultural attainment. Klineberg's examination of more recent studies only reinforces the conclusion "that racial differences have not been demonstrated by means of intelligence tests, since so many nonracial factors enter the results. . . ." [2] Klineberg states, furthermore, that "most psychologists working in the field at the present time appear to regard the mental test, and psychological methods in general, as incapable of leading to a definitive statement in this regard." [3]

If the statements of scientists are so lacking in support for attitudes of racial superiority, how do we account for the continued existence of such attitudes on the part of many groups? The answer is that people often develop beliefs without bothering to investigate the findings of research. Regardless, therefore, of the biological and psychological facts about race, there is the ever present sociological fact of the *belief* in racial purity and superiority which must be reckoned with if we are to understand the behavior of groups. After all, it is not what scientists say is true but what people *believe* to be true that determines their behavior. For the sociologist these beliefs are, themselves, important data. W. O. Brown has described this added social meaning of the term "race" which accounts for its sociological significance:

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 183–189. Cf. *also* pp. 174–176. It should be noted that Klineberg has tried to control the problem of selection in this study; he found no significant difference in ability between the school children who moved to New York City and their classmates who remained in the South.

[2] Otto Klineberg, "Tests of Negro Intelligence," in Klineberg, editor, *Characteristics of the American Negro*, p. 81, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 95. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

> But if race is defined as a social reality in the folkways, mores, and behavior of the folk, as in the United States and South Africa, it is more than a mere zoological fact. It becomes a significant symbol, evoking love and hatred and arousing men to words and deeds, a source of rancor and conflict. Races thus become important social units, possible conflict groups. Race prejudice, race consciousness, and race movements tend to emerge. Races acquire a past and aspire to a future; or, as Park has put it, they become historic groups, not mere aggregations of individuals tending toward physical uniformity. This transformation of race from a biological to a social fact is not a function of conditions inherent in human biology. Rather, it can be understood only in terms of the social situations and culture of a given society. From the sociological angle of approach, race contact is one form of social contact, and race conflict a type of group conflict.[4]

In order to explain these sociological facts about race and at the same time avoid confusion with the biological facts, it will be well to use separate terms for the two ideas. Henceforth, we shall limit the use of the concept *race* to its *biological and geographical meaning* as stated by Garn and Coon. On the other hand, we shall refer to the culturally unified group whose members *think* they are bound by racial ties as a "race-conscious group." This group takes its place with crowds, mobs, publics, and other forms of association as a definite social type, the study of whose behavior is within the subject matter of sociology.

Characteristic behavior of the "race-conscious group"

The unity of the "race-conscious group" is slight during periods when its status is unchallenged, but in time of conflict or suppression its group consciousness is heightened and its unity strengthened. This principle can be tested in any period in the history of the Jews, who, while not a race, are often group-conscious. When undergoing persecution, they are keenly aware of their common interests. When, however, they are at peace with other groups, the bonds which hold them together as Jews are often less important than those that unite them as individuals to the respective nations of which they are a part.

When discriminated against, the "race-conscious group" develops definite techniques for maintaining its self-respect and for bettering its status in relation to the oppressor

[4] W. O. Brown, "Culture Contact and Race Conflict," in Reuter's *Race and Culture Contacts op. cit.*, p. 34. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

group. In this country the reactions of Negroes or of Jews to discrimination illustrate such a set of techniques.

Reactions typical of oppressed minorities

The self-improvement reaction. The zealous interest of many Jewish families in the education of their children is an illustration of the desire among members of a minority for personal status and success through individual improvement. Booker T. Washington recommended this as a pattern for the Negro to follow when he told his fellow colored men to worry less about insults and unequal opportunities, and to give more attention to their own development both economically and educationally. By demonstrating their efficiency in agriculture, industry, and business, he thought recognition and improved status would be forthcoming. This emphasis, which led to the founding of Tuskegee Institute and many similar schools, is still prominent in Negro life.

The militant reaction. While not minimizing the importance of individual accomplishment, many young Negro leaders realize that the economic development of their group is limited by its place in the white society. They are, therefore, confronting discrimination directly. They demand that the Negro, as a native-born American, be entitled to whatever protection and opportunities other citizens receive. They fight for the abolition of "Jim-Crowism" in all of its forms; they ask for equal wages and chance for advancement in industry, for the same kind of justice in the courts; and they seek greater recognition in government and expect to be treated as equals in religion, education, and other forms of social organization. These leaders have formed militant organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Special techniques are invented to let their demands be known. A wave of "sit-in demonstrations" spread through southern states in 1960 to let proprietors of downtown lunch counters know that the Negroes who bought merchandise in these department stores also wanted the privilege of being served at the counter. Groups of young Negroes, in some instances with white youths joining them, would sit at a lunch counter, be refused service, and continue to sit there all day. Many stores closed their lunch counters; others now serve customers regardless of race. Very few instances of outright violence were reported.

The "oppression psychosis." When a group is as conscious of discrimination as is implied by the types of militant behavior just described, the members often develop characteristic attitudes which Herbert A. Miller refers to as an "oppression psychosis." [1] Common among minority groups subject to domination, the "oppression psychosis" involves attitudes of fear, hatred, resentment, jealousy, suspicion, and revenge. When in this state of mind, a group interprets any action of the oppressor as another injustice. Although the Negroes do not have this complex to the extent to which it is found among some of the oppressed minorities of Europe, there are evidences of its presence.

A perusal of the news columns and editorials of the potent Negro press will show story after story praising achievement of Negroes and condemning acts of discrimination of the white man. This group reaction has its counterpart in the personalities of some individuals. Certain Negroes (as would be true with any oppressed group) become highly sensitive to comments which cast reflection upon them as individuals or upon their race as a group. Quick, impulsive flashes of anger, sharp retorts, or even physical resistance may be expected from such persons. To them are attributed radical acts and impertinences, much resented by a similar element in the white group.

The co-operative reaction. The "liberal" as contrasted with the "radical" members of the minority group are not belligerent in their relations with the dominant group, but rather pursue what they consider to be an expedient policy of co-operation. Intergroup commissions, conferences, and other educational projects are the expressions of such an attitude. In the United States, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Interracial Commission, and the National Urban League are illustrations of this response. These "compromising" measures are hotly condemned by those leaders who think that a real change of status will be won by demanding justice, rather than by waiting for it. A conflict may then arise between the race leaders themselves, similar to the conflict in

[1] Herbert A. Miller, *Races, Nations, and Classes*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1924. *See* especially Chapters Four and Eight.

political life between socialists and communists, both of whom are working for social reconstruction, while each condemns the method of the other in achieving it.

These various types of reaction which we have been discussing in the last few paragraphs are of course not mutually exclusive. The same persons may react in different ways at different times, and within an oppressed group the various members may respond differently to discrimination, depending upon the temperamental and social factors involved in each case. In general, however, the behavior can be described by such categories as those we have mentioned.

An extensive research project on the personality development of Negro youth, sponsored by the American Council on Education has sought to find from young Negro people themselves how they feel about, and are affected by, racial matters. Through attitude tests, community studies, and thousands of personal interviews, the answers have been assembled to the question: "What are the effects upon the personality development of Negro youth of their membership in a minority racial group?" [1]

Two surprising conclusions have resulted from this study. *First,* the white man's stereotyped notion that the Negro is preoccupied much of the time with the status of his race and with the effect of racial discrimination upon his own standing is, for the most part, incorrect. Food, clothing, fun, jobs, girls, games, fights, schooling, church going, family celebrations and family squabbles, the purchase of a car, the death of a parent, and thousands of similar interests claim the attention most of the time of the great majority of young Negro people as they do of white youth.

[1] Reports of this research were published by the American Council on Education as follows: E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Middle States;* Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Rural South;* Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South;* W. Lloyd Warner, *Color and Human Nature: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in Chicago;* and Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality. See also* Robert Johnson, "Negro Reactions to Minority Group Status," in *American Minorities,* edited by Milton L. Barron, pp. 192–214, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1957; E. Franklin Frazier, "Role of the Negro in Race Relations in the South," *Ibid.,* pp. 162–169; E. K. Weaver, "Racial Sensitivity Among Negro Children," *Phylon,* vol. 17, March, 1956; and John H. Rohrer and Munro S. Edmonson (eds.), *The Eighth Generation,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1960.

Concern about racial status, of course, is not absent, for almost every young person can recall serious conflict experiences related to race, and occasionally the interviewers discovered a Negro youth for whom interracial problems had played a dominant and inescapable role,[2] but in most instances the effects of racial status were more indirect and impersonal, although nonetheless important. That is to say, the general limitations upon education, job opportunities, social participation, and place of residence which barriers enforce in varying degrees upon Negro communities, both North and South, determine in advance the ceiling of participation.

The *second* surprising conclusion is that the Negro may apply oil to improve the "quality" of his hair or may purchase face powder that is "one shade lighter," but this does not mean that he is really striving to become white or to join white society. Again, it is the naiveté and superiority notions of the white man that make him suppose all Negroes covertly desire intermarriage and participation in "white" society.

What young Negroes do want, according to the findings of this study, is advancement within their own social group. Negro society in any community possesses its hierarchy of social classes and social cliques just as does white society. Upper-class individuals are at the top of Negro society because of the combined factors of family background, economic position, education, personal appearance, morals, manners, and *savoir-faire.* Such individuals have already attained the rewards of high position and enjoy a sense of prestige. What many upper-class Negroes do want is freedom from restrictions which keep them from raising their personal status in these ways. From the upper and middle classes come the race leaders who attack racial discrimination in jobs, in voting, in place of residence, in recreation, and in other phases of social organization, not because they want to enter the white man's social circles, but because they want the opportunity to achieve higher standards of living.

The subtleties of social attitudes within the Negro group and especially within the higher social circles in which mulattoes predominate cannot be summarized in a few brief para-

[2] This point was emphasized in extreme form in the character of "Bigger Thomas" in Richard Wright's *Native Son,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940.

graphs, but at least we have made a start.

In the foregoing analysis we have examined the behavior of the "race-conscious group" which occupies the disadvantaged position.[1] On the other side of the relationship are those who express the "superiority" attitudes. They, too, constitute a "race-conscious group."

The oppressor group and race prejudice

The behavior of this group, as one might expect, is to some extent the reverse side of the picture just painted. Its group consciousness is also heightened during times of conflict. Whenever the subordinate group becomes restive and ambitious for higher status, the "superior group" expresses its prejudice and resentment by acts of suppression and discrimination.

Race prejudice, then, is an external indication of a basic struggle for existence and status between the oppressor and the oppressed. Like any prejudice, it involves a bias, a prejudgment which reflects an earlier conditioning. Prejudice is especially efficient in interracial relations, because physical differences, slight and inconsequential though they may be, serve as labels for pointing out those against whom prejudice is to be directed.

These physical labels give the "superior" groups a means of discriminating against and removing from competition all persons who bear such marks regardless of their merit as individuals. That is to say, *prejudgment* of an individual's entire personality on the basis of *a single trait* is a characteristic of group prejudice. Thus the Negro who has earned a Doctor of Philosophy degree may expect to be insulted and excluded from many social contacts by persons whose own accomplishments are inferior to his, but whose skin is white.

This categoric nature of prejudice has been found by Donald Young to characterize a great many relationships among cultural groups in the United States:

> There is not a minority in the United States of whatever racial or national origin which has not brought with it or acquired group antagonisms and prejudices concerning the capacities and characteristics of other minorities and of the majority of old American stock. Not a single individual in the United States is permitted by his own beliefs and by the controlling attitudes of his group to regard his fellows as individuals rather than as members of some class or caste based on racial or national ancestry, and characterized thereby.
>
> . . . These attitudes affect beliefs in inborn qualities, limit employment, fix the place of residence, influence forms of recreation, and go so far as to prescribe permissible varieties of social relationships. They vary from group to group, are never identical in all parts of the country, and are altered radically in the passage of time. Although rigidity is not a characteristic of American group distinctions, their observance is required of all who fear the penalties of social disapproval.[2]

Marie Jahoda agrees with Young that many different peoples have come in for their adverse share of negative attitudes:

> "Prejudice" can mean different things to different people. By prejudice, I mean a hostile attitude toward a whole group of people, or toward one person simply because he is a member of that group.
>
> The Americans who bear the greatest brunt of hostility today are Negroes. But at different times in our history, different groups were hated, and in different parts of our country today, Catholics, Orientals, Mexicans, Jews, Puerto Ricans—yes, even native white Protestants—get their share of prejudice too.[3]

Racial prejudice is not innate, as was once assumed to be the case, but like other attitudes is acquired through social experience. Bruno Lasker found this to be true in his investigation of racial attitudes among children,[4] and Donald Young reached a similar conclusion in his summary of the research which has been completed in this field:

> Crude as they are, existing studies of racial attitudes confirm the prevailing belief of cultural anthropologists and others who emphasize environment rather than heredity, that race prejudice as evidenced by tendencies to antagonistic reactions is the result

[1] Since more research has been done in the field of Negro-white relations than in the relations of other racial groups, this chapter has contained a large proportion of such material, but the student should keep in mind that many of the basic processes would also be found operating in Oriental-white relations, Indian-white relations, and in other areas of social experience as well, but in every case the exact nature of their operation would have to be studied (as we have tried to do for Negro-white) in terms of the attitudes and values traditionally inherent in the local situation.

To find modern group relations at their highest level of complexity and tension, one need but turn to the daily reports of strife within the new nations of Africa and also within the longer established society of South Africa. In South Africa, many of the descendants of white settlers have tried to maintain an apartheid policy, while the 10 million Africans, joined by the less than half a million Asians, are struggling for some measure of equality. *See* "Apartheid Policy Curbs Asians Too," *The New York Times*, April 24, 1960, p. 19.

[2] Donald Young, *American Minority Peoples*, p. 2, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1932. Reprinted by permission.

[3] Marie Jahoda, "What is Prejudice?" *Look Magazine*, vol. 24, p. 93, May 24, 1960. Copyright © 1960 by Cowles Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

[4] Bruno Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929.

of a process of socialization rather than an inborn abhorrence. . . .[1]

Prejudice results from a process of socialization about which the psychologist also has many ideas. In his study of the dynamics of individual behavior, he joins with the sociologist in acknowledging that the personality of the individual develops through socialization, that is, through social interaction. Jahoda shows this to be true in her following comment and then in her other answers to interview questions:

Prejudice is never found in children who have not been exposed to it. Every psychological and sociological study shows that prejudice, like any social attitude, is *learned*.[2]

Isn't every human being a little prejudiced?

No. Quite a number of people tested are fairly free of prejudice against other groups or persons. Estimates for the United States vary from 10 per cent to 15 per cent of the adult population. My guess is that the true figure is nearer 10 per cent than 15.

How are prejudices learned?

They are learned at an early age—though rarely before four. Prejudices are taken over by children from their parents or playmates (who get them from *their* parents or playmates) in much the same way that other attitudes are taken over—that is, as if they were solid information about the world. Children who hear disparaging remarks made about a race or religion have no reason—and imperfect equipment—to disagree.

Does this mean that prejudice is a form of conformity?

Generally, yes. Most of us have a strong need to go along with the views of people we like. To feel in agreement with others gives us a sense of belonging, of being accepted. We all like to be liked.

It takes great independence, toughness of character and conviction to dissociate ourselves from the opinions of those whose affection we need and whose esteem we cherish. It is much easier to conform than to resist the pressures or challenge the values of a group.

A great deal of the current prejudice in our country is explained by this simple human need to conform. But this is not the whole story. Some people are prejudiced, not out of a need to be loved by their group, but out of a deep and desperate *need to hate* someone else. The hostility of these people has become an essential part of their personality. They even attack those who don't hate as they do.[3]

What accounts for the need to hate?

Psychological tests show us that people who are driven by the need to hate reveal their first and deepest hate as—themselves. Childhood experiences make some people exceedingly insecure emotionally. If they have not been loved, praised and cherished by their parents, if they have been rejected, derided, despised, they often come to think of themselves as basically unlovable.

Now, what can a person who feels unlovable—"bad," "selfish," "cruel"—do? Just as a lame person needs crutches, unloved people search for emotional crutches. Prejudice can serve as such a crutch. Despising others becomes a way of trying to bolster one's own shaky self-esteem by making others seem more inferior or contemptible. In fact, the only way some people can salvage their own self-respect is to feel "lucky" they are not a Negro, a Catholic, an Italian—or whoever is set up as a scapegoat for their own secret misery.

Does hate then serve as a psychological "stabilizer" for the prejudiced?

Only in part, or for a time. The worse a prejudiced person pictures the members of a rejected group, the more intense becomes his own inner conflict. He becomes obsessed by the need to "prove" his prejudice; he is driven to find more and more "evidence" to justify his hatred, to search for confirmation of his suspicions, to elaborate tiny details into large grievances. And in doing all this, he endows those he hates with the very things he lacks—a clear, consistent, recognizable character.

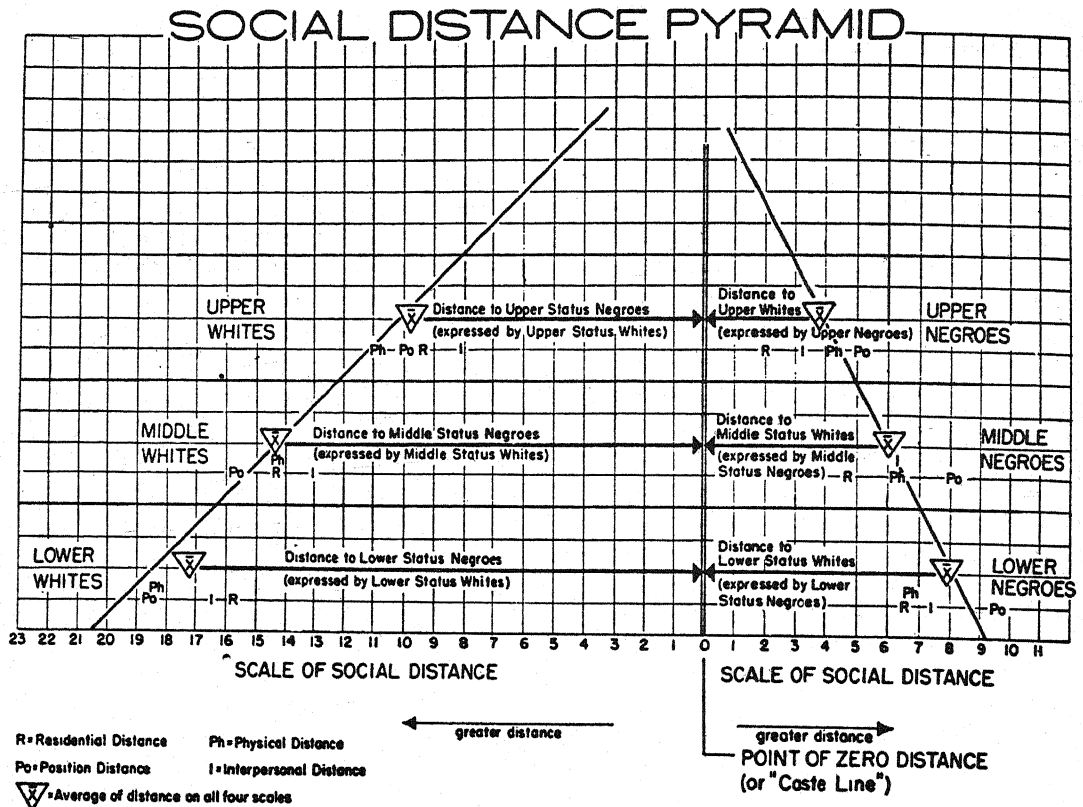
Prejudiced people are rarely happy people. Studies of the deeply prejudiced reveal that they suffer from having no basic clarity about themselves. They don't really know where they "belong." They waver between feeling strong and weak, for instance, or between feeling good and bad, loved and hated.[4]

Some approaches to discrimination

Few problems have had as many words said about them as has discrimination. It has been featured in the political arena, the Hollywood scenario, television documentaries, and in the work of many organizations. An example of the last approach is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith which began its work in 1913 for the specific purpose of defending the Jew against every form of defamation. During World War II it was especially active in arousing public indignation against the atrocities in Germany and in compiling a storehouse of information about fascist activities involving anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism in this country. It has been especially active in studying Negro-white relationships and problems of integration-segregation. In this connection it published the *Freedom Pamphlet Series,* to which many scholars contributed.

The American Jewish Committee serves as another example. In 1950–51 it brought together the results of research by psychiatrists,

[1] Young, *op. cit.*, p. 8. Reprinted by permission.
[2] Jahoda, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

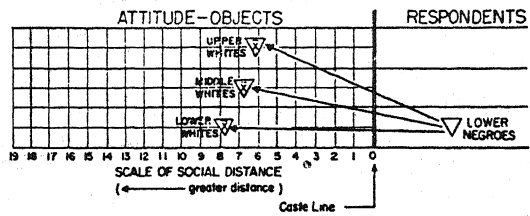
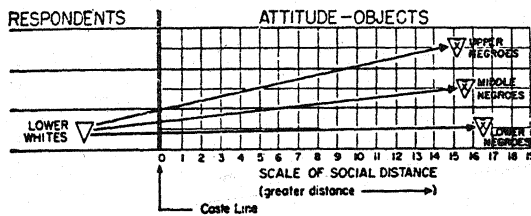
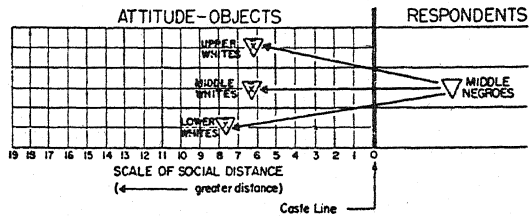
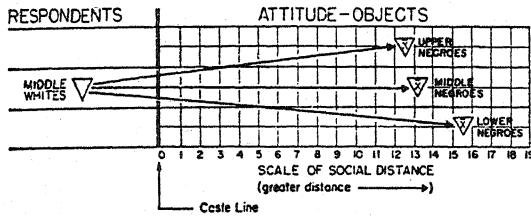
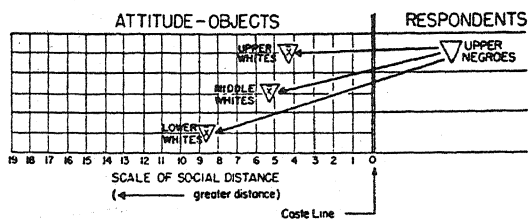
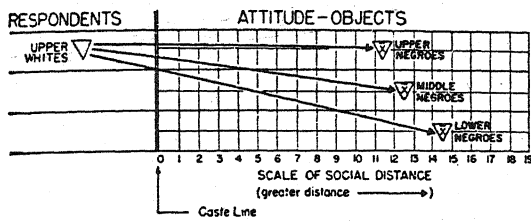
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 94. Reprinted by permission.

The lower the social status of groups whose members label themselves as different from other groups, the greater the feeling of separateness. This principle is borne out by empirical studies. Conversely, the upper-level members of two groups feel relatively close to one another. With respect to Negro-white relations, the feeling of social distance is somewhat greater among whites than among Negroes regardless of the social-status level. (Frank R. Westie and Margaret L. Westie, "The Social-Distance Pyramid: Relationships Between Caste and Class," The American Journal of Sociology, *vol. 63, p. 193. September, 1957.)*

psychologists, social and political scientists on the nature of the prejudiced personality in a five-volume series, *Studies in Prejudice.*

A number of newspapers in both the North and the South, and also several national news and picture-news magazines, some of which have been noted for "conservative" leanings on other topics, have persistently held before their readers candid reports of intergroup discrimination and of efforts which communities have taken to reduce tension between religious and racial elements in the population.

In spite of their knowledge of propaganda and power techniques, social scientists are still puzzled about the success of Hitler's campaign of prejudice, discrimination, and extermination which resulted in the starvation or outright murder of six million Germans and Poles who were thought to have some trace of Jewish ancestry. Some of modern Germany's leaders showed alarm when in 1960 youth groups revived symbols of the former Nazi organization and instigated anti-Semitic activity. As a warning and an antidote to this forgetfulness on the part of youth about the persecution under Hitler, the Bonn leaders welcomed the release in the summer of 1960 of a film entitled *Mein Kampf* "compiled by a German-born Swedish scholar named Erwin Leiser. It is a documentary that traces with graphic intensity the rise and collapse of the Third Reich." [1] Leiser assembled the film from movies which he discovered in mislabeled cans in East German archives. *Mein Kampf* was seen by half a million people in West Germany in an eight-week pe-

[1] *See,* "Questions Answered," in *Time,* vol. 26, p. 19, September 5, 1960. Courtesy *Time;* Copyright Time, Inc., 1960.

Social Distance. (Frank R. Westie and Margaret L. Westie, "The Social-Distance Pyramid: Relationships Between Caste and Class," The American Journal of Sociology, *vol. 63, p. 193, September, 1957)*

riod during the summer of 1960. Here is an account of the audience reaction.

> At first, German audiences watch with embarrassed distaste, now snickering at the wild gesticulations of the early Hitler, now clearing throats in unison as Rudolf Hess shouts: "My Fuhrer, you are Germany. When you judge, the people judge."
>
> . . . the SS shots show German soldiers looking on with pleasure as Jews with swollen knees and fleshless legs drop to the ground and die. Children lie dying on filthy cots. Then, as heads in the audience lower, the camera pans along a trundling line of corpse-filled push carts to the edge of a lime pit, where the bodies are sent sprawling down a chute.
>
> . . . Audiences, in the main, consist of people under 40, and the popularity of the film tends to contradict the notion that West Germans are unwilling to concern themselves with the facts of the Hitler era.[1]

The effects of this film and of other mass approaches on problems of prejudice await objective evaluation. If Lazarsfeld's theory about political behavior applies here, then a mass approach is relatively futile unless accompanied by change in attitudes of primary groups through the influence of "opinion-leaders."[2] Both social scientists and mass media specialists are finding this problem one worthy of extensive treatment.

Sociological Abstracts now contains as one of its standard sections the topic "Interaction Between Groups." Many of the research studies so listed deal with problems of prejudice and discrimination. Writing in one of the journals regularly cited by the *Abstracts*, Melvin Tumin and co-workers point out a weakness in some of the former studies.[3]

> Earlier notions of the relation between prejudice and discrimination held them to be closely interdependent. Discrimination, it was often assumed, was practiced by the prejudiced person and could not be eliminated except as prejudice was first removed.[4]

Then the authors refer to research which indicates that factors other than attitudes may have much to do with the public action of groups.

[1] *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.
[2] *See* p. 146 in Chapter Eleven.

[3] Melvin Tumin, Paul Barton, and Bernie Burrus, "Education, Prejudice and Discrimination: A Study in Readiness for Desegregation," in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 23, pp. 41–49, February, 1958.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 41. Reprinted by permission.

More recent research and theory have been very persuasive, however, in the suggestion that there exists between the attitude of prejudice and the action of discrimination a gap in which a variety of facilitating or inhibiting factors can be interposed. In short, between private feeling and public action there is room for the play of other factors which significantly influence the extent to which feeling will be translated into matching action or will be repressed on behalf of other values. Law, custom, conscience, and informal community restraints are the types of factors which can and have been interposed.[1]

Court action as a governor of behavior

According to the older theory no legal action, such as the Supreme Court decision of 1954 against segregated schools, could be successful unless a law was well-supported in advance by the attitudes of the people. Laws were alleged to grow out of mores in a slow, crescive process. But if law can operate only if it represents norms to which people already adhere, then how can initiative ever be taken by a legislature or a court?

The research of Tumin and his colleagues suggests that there is room between attitudes and actions for law and community restraints to be interposed. Numerous communities started integration of schools under court order when it was clear, through popular voter polling techniques, that the majority of the people of the community did not favor integration. Do these cases suggest that formal action, like court orders, can govern behavior ahead of the slow process of norm setting by mores and attitudes? Yes, in a measure, but not to a drastic degree. In giving their own word of caution, Tumin and his colleagues say:

Even the most ardent advocates of legal action will admit, however, that it is questionable how enduring or stable are purely legal restraints in preventing the translation of prejudice into discrimination. Unless deeper commitments oppose prejudices, one must be seriously concerned.[2]

Other research approaches

The relation of *social class* to prejudice is the focus of another research project. The authors hit upon the device of a "social distance pyramid" to show their results graphically.[3] Social distance is less between Negroes and whites when both groups belong to the upper social class than when they both belong to lower status. Before looking at the pyramid, glance first at the individual charts[4] which reveal the social distance in the attitudes of one group of a certain level toward members of the other group of different levels. These results are then consolidated in the pyramid.

Broad treatises like *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World,*[5] bring together the results of many other studies. This particular volume has a strictly sociological approach in that it treats race contact through an analysis of the structural topics of ecological, economic, political, and social organization. Another book which extends around the world in scope and calls on different authors from many fields is *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior.*[6] Though assembled by two sociologists, this book includes essays by historians and literary figures as well as by social scientists. Thus, there is no end to the excellent material available for the person who wishes to advance in his understanding of problems of prejudice and discrimination.

Summary. The following are the characteristic reactions of the "race-conscious group" which occupies an *inferior* social position: this group becomes more closely unified in times of increased oppression; it seeks security by trying to develop its own economic life; pride is protected by glorifying traditions, praising achievements of contemporary leaders, and welcoming laudatory comments from outsiders; it tries to improve its status with relation to other groups either by demanding justice in militant fashion or by expedient measures of a co-operative nature; and its members, consciously or unconsciously, tend to judge their own worth by the standards of the "superior group."

The *superior* group, which has the upper hand, often employs racial prejudice and discrimination as its methods of disqualifying a competitor. As long as the competitor stays in his assigned place, this group is friendly in a paternalistic way. But when the minority shows signs of discontent and upward striving, then those in power employ discrimination, motivated by prejudice, and justified by stereotyped rationalizations.

During our analysis of race and of the

[1] *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.
[2] *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.
[3] *See* chart on p. 178.

[4] See p. 179.
[5] E. Franklin Frazier, *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1957.
[6] Edgar T. Thompson and Everett C. Hughes (eds.), *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior,* The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960.

"race-conscious group," we have learned that race is a biological matter for the physical anthropologist to study. But we now also know race-consciousness is a sociological phenomenon—an unusually interesting one because it shows human nature in action, revealing its prejudices, its struggle for power, and its means of achieving that power.

We have now concluded our introduction to social classes and castes, to races and "race-conscious groups." In giving attention to these types and to the earlier forms—crowds, publics, social movements, and the like—we did not mean to imply that the family, the church, and special-interest groups are not also important. They will be duly considered, not as isolated groups to be inspected individually, but as integral parts of a social organization. Into this context of social relations will also be placed these groups which, because of special complexities, required the preliminary study given them in the past four chapters. From this point onward, our attention will be centered upon the changing, dynamic interrelationships of group life; we shall think in terms of social organization and social processes. Since the local community is the natural habitat of modern man as a social being, its analysis will come first and will then serve as a point of departure for a description of social institutions.

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Part V

Population and Communities

Chapter 14

Ecology and Community

How Cities Grew

The city once was like a cloud, not larger than a man's hand; it is now the tree that overshadows the world.

Originally, man was a roving hunter, . . . but in the transition period from the palaeolithic to the neolithic culture, the first [urban communities] appeared. In the ancient East, people descended from the highland areas which had become increasingly drier and settled in the marshy lowlands along mighty rivers, living on mounds and embankments above the watery waste. This happened in the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Indus.

[Early cities] depended for their survival on dikes erected for protection against floods . . . , and on canals which distributed water into the parched fields. . . . This made a permanent settlement and conscious cooperation a necessity. The center of the new society was the temple. A temple was not only a center of worship, but also a place for meditation and research, a warehouse, an accounting and distributing agency. There, priests gathered vital meteorological and astronomical data which made the first calendar possible, thereby linking science and the city with a bond that was never to be severed. There, writing was invented to keep records of crop yields, of heads of cattle, and of services rendered. Grain and other merchandise was stored, treasure was kept, loans were granted. Divine sanction was invoked when grievances among individuals had to be settled in courts of justice.

"How Cities Grew" is abridged from Werner J. Cahnman, "The Significance of Urban History" in Jean Comhaire and Werner J. Cahnman, *How Cities Grew: The Historical Sociology of Cities*, pp. 1–11. Florham Park Press, Madison, New Jersey, 1959. Reprinted by permission of the author and publisher.

The urban population, besides the priests, included soldiers watching on the . . . city walls, boatmen and fisherfolk, building and maintenance workers, and craftsmen of all sorts. To all of them, the urban scene meant home. Although clans continued to exist, they ceased to be independent kin groups. The city is a place where habitat prevails over kinship.

One family's god could not be another family's god, though various families facing a common threat could unite into clans, tribes, phratries, and these again into cities. If they did, they sealed their new bond of alliance by erecting altars for the performance of common rites, but the family gods were still worshipped at home. Hence, cities were confederations called into being by a solemn oath over a burning sacrifice and their rulers were priest-kings who presided over a number of formerly independent kin groups.

Politically, the cities of Babylonia—like the later cities of Phoenicia, Greece, and Italy—were independent entities, or city-states, where sovereignty was vested in the city dwellers and their representatives. The division of labor radiated from the urban center out into the periphery, but the principle of cooperation was restricted to life within the city gates, and relations with outsiders remained power relations pure and simple. The citizens commanded superior armor and exploited the countryside. Roving tribes might be compelled to pay tribute from time to time and trading expeditions were dispatched wherever broadly flowing rivers or inland seas facilitated communications.

However, the traders were escorted by armed men and often turned piratical in their commercial practices. Trading monopolies lasted as long as the cities remained strong enough to dictate favorable terms for the exchange of goods, to press workers in distant regions into service, and to defend themselves against competitors. The most powerful city-states made lesser rivals their subservient allies, and, in imposing their will upon them, they created empires by unifying vast stretches of territory.

. . .

The city as a solid organization in its own right originated in . . . antiquity. Out of these

. . . roots, a new growth occurred in the European middle ages. In early medieval times, when Roman civilization seemed all but lost, the cities were little more than emergency shelters, often the seats of bishops of the Roman Church. But as the trade routes were revived and made more secure, footloose people, escapees from the feudal manors in the countryside, began to gather around fortified places, or "burgs," first in upper Italy and in Flanders, later also along the connecting valleys of the Rhine and Rhone, finally in other parts of western and central Europe. These places were used for the storage of merchandise.

Before long, food, textile, and metallurgical industries and their auxiliaries were established, drawing into service discontented serfs from the surrounding countryside. The merchant-adventurers, not unlike foreign traders, such as Syrians, Jews and Lombards, were "free" in the sense that they could not be made subject to any specific feudal jurisdiction. . . . The run-away serfs, if recognized, could be claimed for their former overlords, but the merchants insisted on extending to them the "privileges" of the city because they needed their services. The medieval saying that "the air of the city makes free" meant that those who became subject only to the jurisdiction of the city—its "freedom"—were relieved from most of the many cumbersome feudal obligations and encumbrances. In other words, . . . the citizens, as urban dwellers, owed no allegiance to any clan, caste, or village association. Nor were they bonded to feudal potentates. Their only allegiance was to the city as an independent corporation.

The story has its ups and downs, but it will suffice to say that in the process which we have in mind broad middle classes were generated that became the bearers of modern nationalism, of commercial expansion, of scientific progress and of industrial development when the narrowly conceived political power of the cities gave way to the new power of the centralized state.

In France, the commercial interests that resided in the cities allied themselves with the power of the absolute king; in England, commercial and feudal interest combined to checkmate the power of the crown; in Germany and Italy, the initiative of the burghers proved insufficient and industrial growth eventually was stimulated from above by the power of the state; in the Netherlands and in Switzerland, the state and the burghers were identical. Everywhere, the nation-states and empires of industrial civilization arose, and they were based on the same territorial principle as European cities, only on a larger scale.

The civilization of nation-states, and even of those modern states where various nationalities share in the symbols of power, is founded on the same purpose-rational and economically oriented [secular] spirit which governed the medieval city. As a result, social mobility, once the privilege of city-dwellers, now permeates all aspects of society. People of divers origin are thrown together and must learn to accommodate themselves to each other. In western Europe and in North America, to which the energies of western Europe have overflowed since the age of discovery, the process is nearing completion; in Latin America, in the Soviet Union, and in Japan it is far advanced; in Asia and Africa it is gathering momentum. Urbanism as a way of life appears to be about to fill the total expanse of human existence. From small beginnings, the culture of western cities has grown to be the tree that overshadows west and east.

* * *

In the preceding thumb-nail sketch, we can sense the important linkage between man's cultural history and the growth and development of his communities. From a condition of primitive dependence upon the natural environment, man slowly increased his freedom by more efficient adaptations to the forces of nature. The changes in his community life were both a reflection of this cultural development and, in turn, the basis for further cultural development. The story of the development of human communities is thus, in large part, the story of man's coming to terms with his environment.

This is the subject which shall concern us in this chapter. First we shall analyze some of the more important aspects of man's relationship to his environment. Second, we shall touch upon the major changes in human community types, emphasizing the social and cultural characteristics emerging from adaptation to the environment.

Human ecology

What is human ecology?

Ecology, as a branch of biology, is the study of the relations between organisms (or groups of organisms) and their environment

The ecological point of view stresses the idea that every living organism, human and nonhuman, is in a constant state of adjusting to environmental conditions. "The life of an organism . . . is inescapably bound up with the conditions of the environment, which comprise not only topography, climate, drainage, etc., but other organisms and their activities as well." [1]

In sociology, the study of *human* ecology is but the logical extension of this idea. Human beings are also constantly adjusting to their environments which include not only the physical conditions of their geographic habitat but also other organisms. This means plants and animals. It also means other humans both as biological and social beings. Humans, as we pointed out in Chapter Two, are completely dependent upon each other for sheer survival. The Arunta adaptation to the environment was by means of a socially-transmitted set of technologies (fire, hunting techniques, methods of preparing food and shelter, etc.) and by means of activities which were co-ordinated by their social order. The Arunta thus illustrate the four main, interrelated aspects of human ecology: A group of people, (a *population*), adapting to an *environment* by means of a *technology* and a *social organization*.[2] Technology and social organization are, of course, a part of culture. But ecology's focus is not on all of culture but only on such aspects of technology and social organization as contribute to man's sustenance or are a consequent adaptation to the environment.

Adaptation to the environment

Let us return to the four aspects of human ecology: population, environment, technology, and social organization. Their listing implies that "adaptation to the environment" involves more than the environment itself. First of all, adaptation to the environment involves the adapting organisms, that is, the human organisms which constitute the population to be found in a certain environment. These organisms are not infinitely plastic and adaptable. In fact, their needs for "adequate physiological functioning" are quite set by their biological make-up. Without water, food, and protection from temperature extremes and certain kinds of injuries, there is no survival. So, adaptation *to* the environment may be seen as the adaptation *of* the environment to the "creature needs" of the human organisms. Shelter and fire and clothing do not change the climate, but they change the organism's immediate environment so that his biological needs are met. Similarly, the geographic environment is exploited for food and water. If there is no food or water available, no human organisms can exist.

Actually, both the environment and the human organisms provide the *possibilities, limits,* and *conditions* within which satisfactory relations between organisms and the environment are to be achieved. And in the case of human beings, satisfactory relations are achieved not through biological changes but through technology. That is, man invents ways by which the relationships between his needs and a particular environment are made satisfactory.

The role of technology

Obviously, as more efficient techniques are acquired by a group, either through invention or diffusion, the group's relations to the environment are altered. In general, we can say that as technology improves, the relationships to the environment improve. That is, groups are less at the mercy of their environment in meeting their creature needs or they are able to meet their creature needs in more ample or comfortable fashion.

Now we take one more step. Not only do changes in technology alter the relations of human organisms to their environment, but such changes in technology also alter the group's social life. The social organization or structure—the system of relationships—will be modified. Thus, human ecology includes the study of the consequences upon the social structure of the processes of adaptation to the environment.

And since technology is the means by which the adaptation to the environment takes place, we may say that human ecology includes the study of the consequences of technology (not all technology, we must remind ourselves, but such as facilitates adap-

[1] Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology; A Theory of Community Structure*, p. 3. The Ronald Press, New York, 1950. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

[2] After Otis Dudley Duncan, "Human Ecology and Population Studies," in Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan, editors, *The Study of Population: An Inventory and Appraisal*, pp. 678–716, The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1959.

tation to the environment) upon social structure.

In this chapter, our main subject will be the major changes in community organization brought about by changing technological adaptation to the environment. But, for a quick overview of the impact of technological development upon man's social and cultural life, let us turn to Walter Goldschmidt's summary:

1. [Improved] technology, through more efficient exploitation of the environment, increases the [population] carrying capacity of the land; the population increases and [interaction takes place within and between larger social groups.]

2. Technological development [such as agriculture] reduces the amount of physical movement required to sustain the population. It allows for increasing sedentariness [in place of nomadic or semi-nomadic life] . . .

3. Technological advancement increases the total goods available to the population. In part, this is the result of the increasingly sedentary character of daily life, for nomadism limits the goods that can be accumulated. But in large part, the increased goods are a direct product of increased freedom from the exigencies of life, increased knowledge of means, and increased productive capacities.

4. Technological advancement fosters the division of labor and the separation of economic and social functions. All societies make some division of tasks, at least by age and sex, but increased technological development and the knowledge and skills made available by it make possible and often require the allocation of different functions to different personnel.

5. Technological development enables man to have increased amounts of social leisure, i.e., the opportunity to engage in activities that do not in and of themselves satisfy the creature needs of the population.

Technological improvement has these several influences on social life, if the environment is constant. It has these effects to the degree that the change alters the economic potentialities, whether it be the invention, say, of boiling foods (thus making grain amenable to human digestion), or the reclamation of sea water (making deserts produce abundant food).

These effects, in turn, influence the likelihood of further technological development. . . . increases in population make further [technological] development more likely. The same may be said for increased sedentariness of life, for increased social leisure, for accumulation of goods, and for specialization of functions. All these contribute to the [acceleration] of cultural development.[1]

Resource limitation and competition

The basic ecological *process* is the *competition* we find between individuals and between groups. About the only human need which has not been in short supply is air. Except under disaster conditions, men have not had to compete for it. But practically every other resource provided by the environment has been limited, at least in some part of the inhabited world, and severely limited in the uninhabited regions. Even today, most of the world's population is undernourished, unable to obtain enough food. Many areas have insufficient water. Timber, mineral, and other resources are quite unequally distributed and there is competition for what exists. Furthermore, access to resources is limited by lack of technological knowledge. Copper ore is but a useless, greenish colored rock to people who do not possess the techniques of smelting.

Of course, the increase in technical "know-how," whether it be agricultural techniques, cooking, pottery-making, spinning and weaving, smelting, or any of the more advanced tools and methods of manufacture, enlarge the amount of goods which can be obtained from the environment. However, competition is not thereby eliminated. Goods remain in scarce supply despite technological advances for two main reasons: 1) the tendency of the population to increase with more ample resources (basically, food) and 2) the further tendency of people to desire, expect, and strive for more goods as more become available (that is, for the standard of living to go up).

We have come a long way from the next-to-starvation level of primitive existence. It is said that we are now living in *The Affluent Society*.[2] But all around us, there is obvious competition for the goods derived from the resources of the environment. There is competition between the individuals and groups within our society and competition with other societies. Most persons and many groups in our society (corporations and unions, for example), work to maintain or improve their competitive position with regard to the available goods. At one level, they compete for access to raw materials, for access to or control of more advanced techniques, for favorable locations to carry on manufacturing and commerce, for consumers, and for capital. And, at another level, they compete for attractive residential locations, better housing, educational and recreational

1 Walter Goldschmidt, *Man's Way*, pp. 115, 116, The World Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1959. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

2 J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1958.

opportunities, medical care, and the many desirable consumer goods. They also compete for recognition and desirable "status symbols," but our purpose in this chapter is to stay rather close to ecological competition—the kind which has to do with obtaining sustenance (at whatever standard of living).

Competition can be fierce, breaking out in violent conflict as it did in the inter-tribal warfare of the American Indians over hunting grounds. Or it can take the form of modern wars between large societies. It can take the form of bitter strikes or "cut-throat" business struggles. But at all times in history and in all groups that we know anything about, the functional prerequisite of having social order has led to some societal control over competition. No group can afford unbridled competition and therefore competition is always moderated to some degree by normative control. And often, the social control of the normative order is so great that the members of the society are scarcely aware of the competition. They merely seem to be working out their existence according to the customs and expectations of their society, so thoroughly have they accepted their society's rules which regulate competition. Nevertheless, the competition and the resulting differential possession of goods are still present.

Ecology's focus on the community

Human ecological factors can be seen at either the society or the community level. However, ecologists have focused on the community. The ecological factors can more easily and more productively be studied when the community is the unit of observation.

Both societies and communities have specified geographic locations and a common life. A society is the largest group in which a common social and cultural life exists. Community, as we shall use the term, is a local territorial group which we designate by such terms as a band (the Arunta society is composed of communities called bands), village, hamlet, neighborhood, town, or city. There is no serious objection to applying the term community to certain regions. But we shall keep our usage of the term community close to that of the more localized territorial groups. So we think of most societies as consisting of more than one community. Sometimes, the communities of a society, as in the Arunta society, are very much alike. But larger societies consist of heterogeneous communities, varying in size, physical appearance, organization, and specialized functions.

A community, we are saying, is made up of a local area (this is the geographical aspect) and an association of persons and groups who live together and influence each other (this is its social or cultural aspect). Unless the two are combined, a community does not exist. If people happen to live in the same territory but have nothing to do with one another socially, the term "community" does not apply. On the other hand, if people have a common interest but live in different localities, they do not constitute a community but rather a special interest group.

The human ecologist is particularly interested in the aspects of community life which are related to the sustenance adaptation to the environment. This is not all there is to community life. But it is fundamental and it has its somewhat indirect influence upon other aspects of community life. Some of the social and cultural characteristics flowing from the particular adaptation to the environment will be touched upon as we turn our attention to the major community types which have appeared in human history.

The primitive community

As far as we know, the earliest human communities were bands or villages composed of a small number of associated families. These communities were generally very small, nomadic or seminomadic, and highly dependent upon the wild plants and animals in their physical environment. We call them "primitive" as we do also the nomadic pastoral and even the preliterate agricultural communities. And, relative to modern urban cities, these types of primitive communities are simple. Yet, they are not nearly as simply structured as we are likely to believe. We learned, for example, how complex the kinship system was in the Arunta communities. Nels Anderson, in discussing the comparative complexity of modern urban communities, notes:

> But such a generalization is not without hazard. Students of preliterate peoples have called our attention to the remarkable complexity of simple societies. Benedict, for example, reported the rules of living in the matriarchal Dobu community where the outer lines for each habitation area are strictly drawn and the rules for cross-border relations piously respected. The mother-dominated family groups are protected against one another and linked

with one another by codes which are precise in their application. How complicated a very simple activity may be is illustrated in the growing of yams. From planting to eating the process is involved in a network of incantation and folklore. Seed yams descending through the husband's family must never be mixed with those descending through the wife's family. . . . All aspects of Dobu life are surrounded by traditional taboos or equally strict requirements which must be correctly learned and precisely obeyed.[1]

Hunting and food-gathering communities

As already indicated, the types of primitive communities range from the hunting and food-gathering to the pastoral and the agricultural. Each has its distinctive set of relationships to the environment as determined by its technological level. But because it is the earliest, our discussion of primitive communities will concentrate on the hunting and food-gathering type. This will be a baseline for comparison with the agricultural village and the preindustrial and industrial cities.

Some primitive communities relied primarily on hunting. Except for some supplementation through plant-gathering, they depended upon animals not only for food but also for shelter, clothing, and tools. Their chief technology, therefore, consisted of hunting skills and the techniques for processing the animals into edible food, shelter and clothing, and basic tools. The American Plains Indian's reliance upon the buffalo is a classic example.

First, the buffalo provided food. What was not eaten immediately was dried, or "jerked," and packed into rawhide cases made from the skin of the animal. The sinews of the buffalo's strong back provided thread by which larger hides were sewn together to make the tipi. As we saw in the Kiowa account of "The First Tipi," buffalo brains were used in tanning the hides to a soft but waterproof finish. Hides with the hair left on were used for robes and clothing. They were very warm and protective. The thick skin of the rump was made into war-shields which would always repel arrows and sometimes bullets. The bones and horns were made into cups and scrapers, knife handles, clubs, etc. The hides and sinews, cut into long strings and woven together, were used to make ropes, horse halters, and lariats. From the boiling of the hooves came a kind of mucilage which was used to glue smaller hides together, or to paste feathers on clothing for decorative purposes. The unfinished rawhide was used for moccasin soles. The thin but strong covering of the intestines was used to make pouches and bags in which articles were carried. It is said that the Indian wasted no part of the buffalo, for even the blood was drunk immediately after killing in the belief that it imparted the strength of the animal to the drinker.

Some primitive communities relied primarily upon food-gathering rather than hunting. Roots, wild grains, and wild fruits provided the food. Mats and housing were obtained by the weaving of bark and plant fibers. Wood (hard wood if available) was used in making tools and weapons. The Indians of the Northwest Coast developed great skill in making containers from reeds. Cedar bark mats and blankets of considerable strength were common.

Nowhere, however, were pure hunting or pure food-gathering communities likely to be found. Primitive people usually had to make use of every available resource in their habitat which their technology enabled them to utilize.

Technology and its ecological consequences

The most important and the most limiting aspect of technology, in the case of hunting and collecting communities, was their food technology. They had just enough knowledge to obtain and make use of the wild animals and plants in their environment. Because neither animals nor plants were abundant in one place, the groups were nomadic or seminomadic. Nomadism was not desired by primitive men. It was forced upon them by the usually limited environments and by their scant technology.

Even the nomadic adjustment, however, did not produce food in abundance. As a consequence, the population of the community was small, estimated by Linton to have been as small as ten or fifteen individuals in regions of scanty food supply and seldom reaching 100 under more favorable food conditions.[2] The population remained small despite a high birthrate. And while it is true that efficient techniques for controlling disease were lacking, the basic cause of the very high

[1] Nels Anderson, *The Urban Community: A World Perspective*, pp. 39–40, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1959. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

[2] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 215, 216, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1936.

death rate was the lack of enough food. Primitive communities were chronically on the verge of famine. Very slight changes in the quantity of the food supply, because of storms, floods, droughts, and other natural disasters, could quickly wipe out the population gains made under more favorable food conditions.

Not only was the food limited, but the same could be said about the total amount of goods possessed by the community. The standard of living was very low. And leisure was almost nonexistent, for almost every waking-moment of the day was spent in hunting, gathering, preparing, and eating food and in the preparation of clothing, shelter, and the minimum tools required by their way of life.

Furthermore, because of the almost total preoccupation with elementary sustenance activities, specialization and division of labor beyond simple sex and age differentiation were almost nonexistent. Women generally took care of the home-front, gathered and prepared food, and were responsible for the children. The men hunted, fought enemies when necessary, and took part in tribal ceremonies. Each family group was its own food supplier. If a new shelter was needed, the family had to make it. Except for a few items obtained by trade, virtually everything the family needed—clothing, footwear, containers, tools—was made by the family members. Occasionally a woman or a man would get a reputation as an outstanding tipi-cutter, for example, or an arrow-maker. When this occurred, others would bring their hides or arrow-shafts to the skilled person. In return for his work, the skilled person was given gifts and accorded special esteem. In no way, however, did specialization in production occur except in this most rudimentary form.

Other social and cultural characteristics

Because of the smallness of the community and the lack of all but rudimentary specialization and division of labor, social interaction in the primitive community was that of a primary group. There were leaders but persons were generally raised to leadership positions because of experience and special skills. The maintenance of order depended upon the folkways and mores rather than upon the limited power of designated leaders. Group censure or, in extreme cases, banishment were more often forms of public rather than official censure or banishment.

Similarly, the socialization of the young was carried on casually in the intimate relations of day-by-day living. Each parent knew the norms of behavior as did all the other adults. Each parent had special responsibilities, but it was also the responsibility of all older persons in the community to see to it that the young learned the proper ways of behaving.

Not only were social control and socialization, to a large extent, the responsibility of the entire community, but the maintenance of meaning and purpose was also generally a function of the total community and relatively unspecialized.

Compared to the communities we know, the general pattern of a primitive community was that of a relatively homogeneous primary group. However, in our crude brush strokes, we may have painted a picture which makes a primitive community appear to be more homogeneous than it was in fact. We need the perspective which Redfield gives in the following:

> The homogeneity of such a society is not that homogeneity in which everybody does the same thing at the same time. The people are homogeneous in that they share the same tradition and have the same view of the good life. They do the same kinds of work and they worship and marry and feel shame or pride in the same way and under similar circumstances. But at any one time the members of a primitive community may be doing notably different things: the women looking for edible roots while the men hunt; some men out on a war party while others at home perform a ritual for its success. And when there is a familial ceremonial, or a magico-religious ritual affecting the whole community, the differences in what is being done may be very great. In the activities to gain a material living, labor, as between man and man or woman and woman, may be divided. But the total specialization of function, as among people of different sexes and age-or-kinship positions, and as among participants in a rite, may be very considerable. The point to be stressed is that all these activities conduce to a purpose, express a view of man's duty, that all share, and to which each activity or element of institution contributes.[1]

Primitive pastoral and agricultural communities

With the baseline of the hunting and collecting community type established, it is not

[1] Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, p. 13, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1953. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

difficult to appreciate the ecological differences in the pastoral and agricultural types of primitive communities.

The domestication of animals is the basic technological development which created the pastoral or herding type of community. Even though the food supply was now a little more ample and secure, a nomadic or seminomadic style of life was still required because of the grazing needs of the animals. Whereas the hunting and food-gathering communities tended toward forest and water-edge locations where animal and plant food was abundant, the pastoral communities needed grasslands. Domestication of animals did not, of course, displace hunting or food-gathering altogether. Domesticated animal food sources supplemented wild food sources more than they replaced them. Therefore, the ideal pastoral community locations were those grasslands with nearby wooded areas. With more food and a somewhat more stable food supply, the number of people in the community could be larger.

The next important addition to man's technology was the domestication of plants. Added to the domestication of animals, man's technology now permitted a fundamentally new relation to his environment. Now fertile river valley locations were favored. The food supply became substantially greater and more dependable. Moreover, the needed food could be raised within daily walking distance of one community location. Nomadic life was no longer needed and a settled type of existence became the rule.

At the primitive level, agriculture remained crude. In less favorable locations where the food supply was limited and less stable, the community size remained very small. But in the more favorable river valleys, even primitive agricultural technology laid the ecological base for larger communities, the advantages of a settled type of existence, the beginnings of leisure, the development of crafts and some of the other specialized uses of leisure. It is on this base that the preindustrial city developed.

The preindustrial city [1]

What is a city? Even in our own society the distinction between a city and other communities is rather vague and varies considerably in the minds of people. True, we have an arbitrary census distinction between rural and urban, but not everyone will call a place of 2,500 a city. The problem of distinguishing between village, town, and city in ancient or medieval times is even more difficult, for size is not the basic criterion. What then are the criteria? In this, we shall follow the Edinburgh archeologist, Stuart Piggott, who first of all rules out all communities which have not passed beyond the stage of subsistence farming. For city status to be given communities:

> . . . they must [also] have some evidence of centralized government and organization, often focused on a court or temple or both. Their population must be largely engaged in occupations other than direct and exclusive agriculture and hence concerned with trade to some extent. . . .[2]

The preindustrial cities, so distinguished, can be divided into two main types on the basis of the extent of trade. Earliest was the essentially agricultural city, located not only in fertile areas but also in easily defended locations. Defensive city walls were common, for early cities were fortress cities. The more strategically located cities, generally along waterways or natural harbors, extended their trade beyond the local areas and became the early commercial cities.

Technology and ecological consequences

In their developed form, both types of preindustrial cities were still dependent upon the immediate surrounding territory (hinterland) for food. But, because of better agricultural techniques, including the application of animal power to the plow, more farmers could live in the same area and each farmer was able to produce more food. Thus the land could carry more people and a small number, up to a maximum of about ten per cent, were released to live in the city and to turn their attention to activities other than food production. This laid the foundation for a primary division of labor between peasants and the city dwellers. The city became the market for the peasants' surplus produce. The food was brought in and traded for the products and services which the city dwellers could

[1] This is the term used by Gideon Sjoberg in his book, *The Preindustrial City*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1960.

[2] Stuart Piggott, "The Role of the City in Ancient Civilizations" in Robert Moore Fisher, editor, *The Metropolis in Modern Life*, p. 6, Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, 1955. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

offer. These were their own handcrafting services and products, items imported from other communities and other services, chiefly protective, judicial, and religious. Even though the surplus food permitted larger communities, the cities were still subject to the vagaries of rainfall, storms, and floods affecting the countryside. This was offset somewhat by torage, but, at best, storage facilities were extremely limited. Thus, the available food still placed an obvious ceiling upon the size of the city's population.

High birth and high death rates still prevailed, even in the cities. The congestion, the lack of public sanitation, and the lack of efficient medical techniques made the preindustrial cities very susceptible to epidemics. In the fourteenth century, for example, the Black Plague is estimated to have killed at least one-fourth of the population of Europe.[1]

Except for food production, most city people were still their own best suppliers, doing most of the homebuilding, furniture making, and clothing manufacture themselves. This was especially true among the lower classes in the city (and also among the farming groups). Only the richest were able to hire craftsmen to build their homes, to make their clothes, and to cook and serve their food. Nevertheless, the preindustrial city saw the emergence and increase of specialized craft manufacture as craft technology developed. Carpentry, masonry, leather tanning, furniture making, tool making, weaving and sewing, pottery, and glass making are but some. As metallurgy developed, blacksmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, and tinsmiths emerged as a class. As trade increased, specialists in transportation, trading, money-exchanging, and record-keeping developed their skills.

So we see that one major consequence of the improved technology was a substantial increase of specialization and division of labor in the production of goods. This specialization and the necessary exchange of goods meant a greater total accumulation of goods and hence a higher standard of living. However, with the increased division of labor, persons in certain positions were able to monopolize most of the gains in the standard of living, leaving the masses to eke out a bare existence.

The greater differentiation in occupations and community functions also led to a greater areal differentiation. Generally, preindustrial cities were centralized around the temple, the court, or the market place. Homes and dwellings were located throughout the community, except that the lower-class dwellings were more apt to be found on the periphery. Often, as Sjoberg notes:

> . . . rigid social segregation . . . led to the formation of "quarters" or "wards." In some cities (e.g., Fes, Morocco, and Aleppo, Syria) these were sealed off from each other by walls, whose gates were locked at night. The quarters reflect the sharp local social divisions. Thus, ethnic groups live in special sections. And the occupational groupings, some being at the same time ethnic in character, typically reside apart from one another. Often a special street or sector of the city is occupied almost exclusively by members of a particular trade; cities in such divergent cultures as medieval Europe and modern Afghanistan contain streets with names like "street of the goldsmiths." Social segregation, the limited transportation facilities, the modicum of residential mobility, and the cramped living quarters have encouraged the development of well-defined neighborhoods which are almost primary groups.[2]

Because of the larger population. the division of labor and areal differentiation within the city and the dependence upon food imported from the countryside, transportation became more important than ever. Animate energy still provided the transportation power, but instead of primary dependence upon human beings, much use was now made of animals. Animals carried not only goods, but, at times, people. Food and water had to be distributed throughout the city and this was achieved by means of a complicated system of transportation based primarily upon animals as beasts of burden.

Especially for the commercial cities, long distance transportation was necessary to bring in raw materials not locally available and to import the valued products of other places. In the Hanseatic League of Europe, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, regular caravans carried goods between the cities, including goods imported both by land and by sea from the Middle and Far East. Caravans required military protection from marauders and brigands who were wont to attack and often enough did succeed in overpowering and robbing the caravans. Yet,

[1] *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends*, p. 52, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 1953.

[2] Gideon Sjoberg, "The Preindustrial City," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 60, pp. 439-440, March, 1955. Copyright (1955) by the University of Chicago Press. Reprinted by permission.

cargoes brought such high prices that such occasional losses could be risked.

Communication now also became a specialized activity. In the primitive community, communication had been entirely by informal contact. In the preindustrial community, this was still largely the case. But this was not enough. Town criers were employed to walk the streets, calling the hour, passing on news and announcements of general interest. Between cities, important news about political and military activities was carried by traders and caravan personnel. Information about trading opportunities was similarly carried. Some kings, burghers, or mayors hired messengers. The military forces also required messengers. In short, communication grew to be a more specialized function than found in the primitive community.

Other social and cultural characteristics

We have previously learned that the substantially increased division of labor made possible rather sharp social divisions. Not only did the status and role system become much more complex but also more formal and rigid. Along with this trend, we find increased secondary group relations. Persons living in the same area of the city and at the same social level could enjoy a considerable degree of primary group interaction. But, interaction across class lines or with other status groups was secondary. In the interaction of farmer and trader, craftsman and merchant, serf and baron, apprentice and master, status-conscious and formal role behavior prevailed. Between a rich burgher or merchant and the peasant farmer on the outskirts of the city, the social distance could be very great.

While much social control was still of a primary group type, enforced by public opinion, maintenance of order at the citywide level was in the hands of special functionaries. These might be the soldiers of the community or specially appointed police. Rights and duties of individuals were now protected and made obligatory by law. This required courts and judges, the latter often being members of the highest status level. In England, nobles and mayors functioned as judges. In 1215, because of the arbitrary "justice" meted out, the lower nobles forced the Magna Charta on the King, thereby assuring judgment by a jury of their peers. In general, however, political and judicial power was in the hands of those who also exercised the most economic power. In this, they were supported by the specialized religious functionaries.

Childcare and socialization still remained the responsibility of the family (often the great or extended family). In contrast with the primitive community, however, the care and socialization of the children was not looked upon as the responsibility of the whole community. Training in a trade or craft was obtainable through the apprenticeship system. For the very rich and for religious leaders, formal education was available.

As implied, a level of literacy had been achieved, though it was limited to a small number of the population. Records and histories were formally kept, and courts had their scribes. The priests and the rich were more apt to be literate, but if a burgher or baron could not read and write, his scribe could.

Similarly, the pursuit of knowledge remained in the hands of the few. However, the important gain to be noted is the fact that man's sustenance relationship to the environment had improved to the point that leisure could be provided to at least a small number of community members. These were enabled to spend at least part of their time in the advancement of knowledge and the arts. It is not our purpose to describe the gains but to call attention to the fact that city living is the human achievement which provided the ecological base for a more rapid development of human culture.

We have highlighted the important ecological elements characterizing the preindustrial communities. Basic are the improved agricultural technology, the larger population, the settled existence, the food and energy surplus, the improved craft technology, the specialization and division of labor and the concomitant exchange of goods, the development of trade, transportation, communication, and money as a medium of exchange. These factors not only made the cultural advance possible but also constituted the cultural base which made possible the development of the industrial community.

The industrial city

Types of industrial cities

When we speak of the industrial city, we are referring to a variety of communities, all

carrying on some function or functions of the modern industrial complex. One type is involved in the extraction and basic processing of raw materials—the mining, smelting, and logging communities. Many of these are small and may not be listed as cities. But they are all involved in the production of the high volume of raw materials needed by manufacturers. Even some of the agricultural communities of today are producing, not only food, but fibers and other raw materials for industry.

A second type of industrial community is the commercial city, basically occupied with the transportation of raw materials and the exchange of finished products. We think of the great English seaport cities, the waterway cities along the Rhine and the Danube in Europe, along the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Ohio in North America, and the major cities with fine natural harbors all over the world.

A third type of industrial community, of course, is the manufacturing city. We may think of the milling cities of England, the machine-tool cities of the Ruhr on the Continent, or the automobile city of Detroit in the United States. But there is scarcely a city in Europe or America not involved in manufacturing. Actually, most industrial cities carry on both commercial and manufacturing functions.

Our special interest in this chapter, however, is to examine the new kind of ecological relationships which characterize industrial cities.

Railroads and industrialism grew up together. In 1928, the land areas in white were within ten miles of a railroad. Today, we also have large scale highway transportation. (Copyright, 1928, by Mark Jefferson)

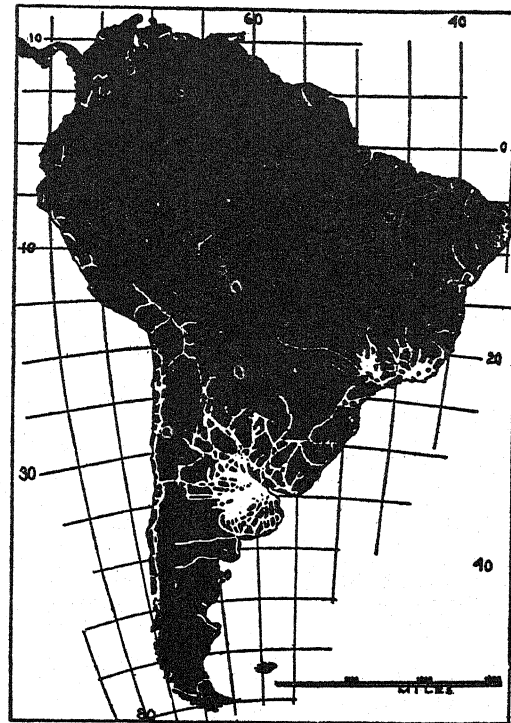
Specializations and exchange of goods

As previously indicated, the preindustrial city had achieved the technological and social base which permitted the development of industrialism. We refer to the agricultural technology and the food surplus which freed the time of city dwellers for other activities. We refer particularly to the *specialization* and *division of labor* in the processing and making of goods, and to the *exchange of goods* between producers in the same community and between communities. This pattern of specialized production, with its division of labor and exchange of goods, called the *exchange economy*, is the important technological and social organization which was first achieved in the preindustrial city. It is true that it was achieved only to a limited extent, but its importance as a pattern for carrying on production cannot be overemphasized.

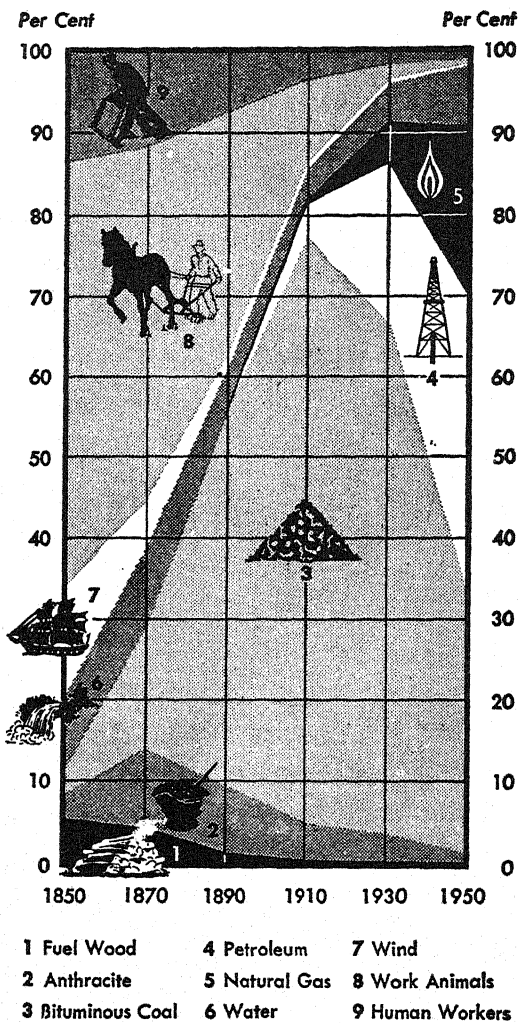
Until men and communities began to specialize, they were organized on an essentially self-sufficient basis. Almost everything needed was produced in the household or at best in the local community. Men were "jacks of all trades and masters of none." Trade with other communities was very limited. Obviously, on this subsistence basis the level of living could not be high. But when men began to specialize, they could become masters of one type of production, thereby increasing the output per man substantially. It is clear that when a great many men specialize and exchange their products, the total production of a given population is significantly increased. More goods per person means a high standard of living.

This specialization and exchange of goods, was not only begun in the preindustrial city but it had developed, in certain places, to the point where communities were beginning to specialize. The advantages of the system even on the basis of human energy were obvious.

Technological innovations of the Industrial Revolution

Thus the base was well laid for the next technological step—the development of *machines* and the tapping of *inanimate energy* to run the machines. Textile manufacturing machines driven by water power (falling water and water wheels) were early

forms of this important new technology. Such water-power sites, however, were limited and it was not until the invention of a new device for transforming the abundant energy in coal into wheel-turning power—the steam engine—that a real breakthrough occurred. The principle of applying inanimate energy to machines, thus greatly increasing the output per man, could now be applied on an almost unlimited scale. The consequences of this technological achievement, applied to the social system of specialization, division of labor, and exchange of goods were indeed revolutionary. And because technological improvements in both machines and in the tapping of inanimate energy have accelerated, the principle of applying inanimate energy to machines in the production of goods for an exchange economy continues to be revolutionary. We are still in the Industrial Revolution.

Of course, to handle this increased output of goods and the increased exchange of goods, improved *transportation, communication,* and *money-credit arrangements* were required. In the case of transportation, this was achieved by the use of inanimate energy in steam locomotives and steamships. As the volume of goods increased, the transportation capacity was increased. The development of steamships and railroads went hand in hand with the development of industrialism, supplemented today by motor transport on a large scale. Similarly, more extensive and more rapid communication was required for arranging the increasing production of raw materials and exchange of goods. An improved and widely extended postal system was the first response to this need, followed by the telegraph, cable, and telephone. These find their ultimate, today, in the teletype and telephone equipment linking large industrial complexes with instant communication. As for an adequate money and credit system to finance the growing manufacturing operations and to facilitate the exchange of the increasing volume of goods, this need was met through growing banking systems. One needs only to read the *Wall Street Journal* to realize the enormity and complexity of this important element of the constellation of innovations which we call the Industrial Revolution.

As has been suggested, this radically new way of producing and distributing goods came into being slowly. But with more and better machinery, and with an increased tapping

Percentage changes in the distribution of work output obtained from different energy sources in the United States, 1850–1950. (From Dewhurst et al, America's Needs and Resources: A New Survey. *The Twentieth Century Fund, 1955)*

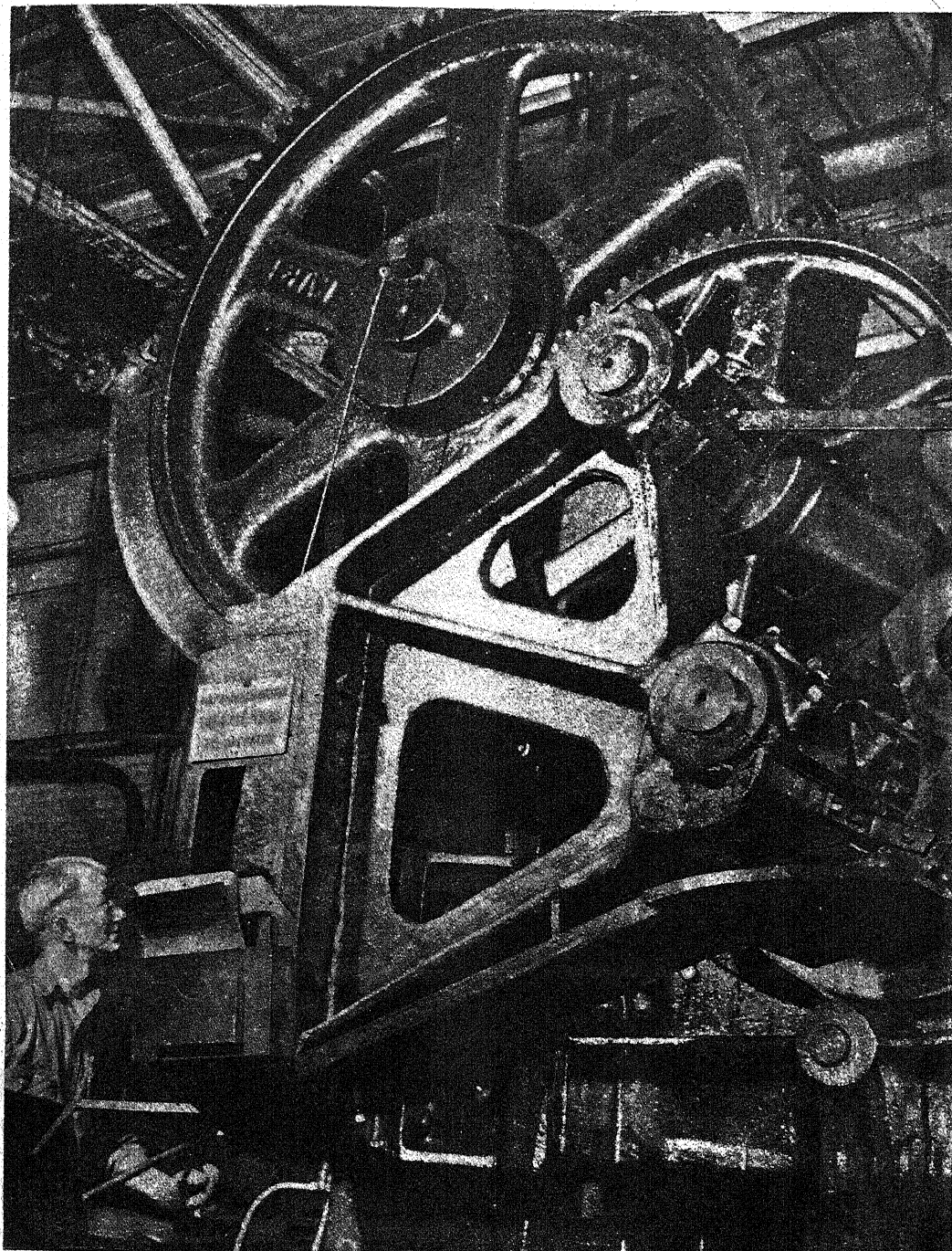
and more efficient use of inanimate energy, the volume of production per man kept rising and is still rising in the industrialized parts of the world.

The accompanying chart shows the percentage shift of all energy sources used in work output in the United States between 1850 and 1950. In 1850, 13.0 per cent of work energy came from human muscles, 52.4 per cent from animals, and 34.6 per cent from inanimate sources. In order of use, the 1850 inanimate sources were wind, water, coal, and wood. By 1900, 73.2 per cent of work energy came from inanimate sources, with bituminous coal leading. By 1950, 98.5 per cent of work energy came from inanimate sources, with petroleum leading. These percentage changes, striking as they are, do not, however, tell us how much the total work energy has increased. In 1850, this is estimated to have been 10.3 billion horse-power-hours. By 1900, this had risen to 78.3 billion. By 1950, the horse-power-hours employed had reached 673 billion. This is a 65-fold increase in a century, with 98.5 per cent (98.75 per cent in 1954) of it from inanimate sources.[1]

For a time, many communities remained outside of this developing exchange economy (and still do in parts of the world), continuing on a more or less local subsistence basis. The material advantages of the new production and distribution svstem, however, have been such that in the United States, for example, practically every person and community has been drawn into it. Our economy is now a highly specialized and extremely interdependent economic system with almost everyone totally dependent upon the specialized products of other persons and communities. Grand Rapids specializes in furniture. Detroit, Flint, South Bend, and Kenosha roll out the automobiles; Pittsburgh, Gary, and Birmingham process the steel; and Milwaukee, the beer. Even the tiniest hamlet is an exchange center ("trade center") through which the farmers send out their specialized products of corn, hogs, cotton, or wheat and buy back food, clothing, hardware, and what not, all processed by other communities. This high degree of specialization (plus the natural energy and the machines) makes it possible for the United States with slightly over 6 per cent of the world's population to produce over a third of the world's industrial goods, and to enjoy the world's highest living standard.

Growth and location of cities

Alongside the manufacturing developments, an improvement in agricultural technology also occurred, accelerated in the last century by plant science and the mechanization of agriculture. This has raised the world's food ceiling and has permitted an enormous increase of the world's population since the

[1] The estimates in this paragraph are from J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates, *America's Needs and Resources: A New Survey,* Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1955.

The industrial power at man's disposal is symbolized by this punch press. Power-driven machinery is a basic component of the Industrial Revolution and has greatly increased the production of goods. (Courtesy Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey)

beginning of the Industrial Revolution. This increase in food production, whereby one agricultural worker in the United States can produce enough surplus food for twenty-four others (1959),[1] has also made it possible (and necessary) for an increasingly larger proportion of people to live in cities.

In the next chapter, we shall examine population facts and trends. But our present emphasis is on the impact of the Industrial Revolution (along with scientific advances in food production and in health practices) upon the growth of total population and particularly upon the growth of urban population.

The initial impetus to urban growth came from the development of power-driven machinery which moved production out of homes or small shops into factories. Workers moved to the factory sites and with this, the shift of population to the cities began—accelerated by every development of the Industrial Revolution which required the service of people in central locations. Just how great and how recent a change this urbanization is may be dramatized by the simple fact that in 1800 there were only twenty-one cities of 100,000 or more in the entire world. By 1930, there were 537 cities of this size, and in 1960 there were 720. This is a 34-fold increase in not much more than a century and a half. And, as we shall note later, many of these cities have become very large.

The present location of cities is also to be explained in terms of industrial needs. The chief process involved has been competition, but competition in terms of industrial requirements. Each industry and each commercial organization has competed for a favorable location for carrying on its own activities—favorable chiefly in terms of transportation, transportation costs, raw materials, and markets.

The size of a particular city's population is likewise dependent upon how favorable a spot it has in terms of transportation, raw material, and market factors. Chambers of commerce may huff and puff, but they cannot defy the ecological forces, especially the much cheaper cost of water transportation. Houston set its sights on outgrowing Galveston, but it did so only by building a fifty-mile ship channel to the Gulf. Los Angeles had to build an artificial harbor to compete with San Francisco, but even Los Angeles could not have competed had it been located at Salt Lake City. Landlocked cities, served only by railroad and motor transportation, can achieve the size of Dallas or Denver, but never the size of Chicago or New York. We say never, but that means in terms of our present technology. Should some means of air or land transportation be invented which is cheaper than water transportation, it would bring a new set of ecological considerations into play and redistribute populations significantly.

[1] Everett M. Rogers, *Social Change in Rural Society*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1960.

Other social and cultural characteristics

In discussing the industrial city, we have been stressing the basic ecological changes which we call the Industrial Revolution and which have resulted from it: the changes in production techniques, the vast increase in specialization, division of labor and exchange of goods, the enormous increase in per capita goods, the growth of total population, and the growth of cities both in number and size. Never in the world's history has a set of technological changes produced such a material advance or such a redistribution of population.

The resulting urban community will receive more detailed attention in Chapter Sixteen. Suffice it here to point out that most of the major trends noted in the preindustrial city have been accentuated in the industrial city: more secondary group relations, a more complex status and role system, more personal recognition based on status symbols rather than on personal qualities, more social control in the hands of specialized functionaries, more social regulation of individual activities, more formal education and more of it in the hands of specialized functionaries in the school or social agency.

We began our brief historical survey of man's community life with the primitive hunting and food-gathering community. The survey has not done justice to either the difficulties or the varieties of man's increasingly efficient adaptation to his environment. For that, many volumes would still fall short. Our purpose, rather, has been to highlight advances in technology which have changed man's relationship to his environment and, in turn, have had a basic influence upon the organization of his community life.

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Chapter 15

Population Characteristics and Trends

The 1960 Population Portrait

The United States is now a nation of 179.5 million people—28 million more than in 1950. Never before has the population increased so much in a 10-year period.

It is a nation on the move—toward the West. Population of the Western States has grown nearly 38 per cent, more than double the national average [of 18.6 per cent].

As the population swings westward, political power is moving with it. The West will gain 10 seats in Congress, on the basis of the 1960 census, while the East and Midwest will lose 11 seats.

America is fast becoming a nation of urban dwellers. There has been a speedup in the pace at which people all across the country are leaving farms and small towns for cities and their suburbs.

Within metropolitan areas, there has been a dramatic shift from cities to the outlying areas. Many leading cities—such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit—have actually lost population for the first time. While city population rose 4 million, or 8 per cent, in the last 10 years, the number of people in the suburbs increased 17 million—a whopping 47 per cent.

"The 1960 Population Portrait" is reprinted by permission from *U. S. News & World Report,* (July 4, 1960) an independent weekly news magazine published at Washington. Copyright 1960, United States News Publishing Corporation.

This is a picture of a vibrant, expanding country. You find growth almost everywhere. In the new population centers, there is burgeoning industry, new formation of wealth. The shifts of population from the cities have brought similar moves by department stores, markets and other businesses to serve suburbia.

. . . the West has grown fastest. California alone has increased its population by nearly 5 million since 1950. People are attracted to the West by sunny climate, growing industrialization and, to some extent, by expanding agriculture due to new water supplies.

New York is still the State most heavily populated. Florida is the fastest-growing, with a 76.6 per cent gain in the '50's. Only three States lost population—Arkansas, Mississippi, West Virginia.

Within States, the most significant trend is the unprecedented growth outside cities. The increase of 17 million in population of the suburbs in the last 10 years accounted for nearly two thirds of the total population gain.

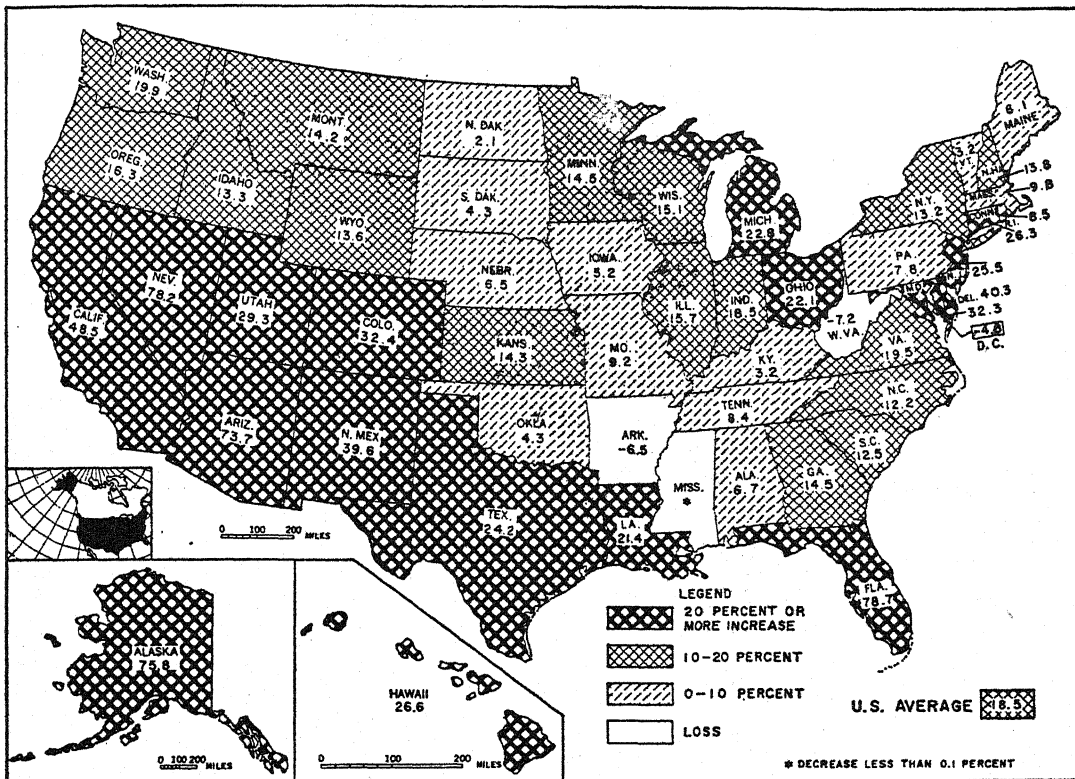
Many cities, meanwhile, have shown only a small increase in population or registered an actual loss—particularly cities in the East and Midwest.

Many cities in the South and the West, however, are growing fast. Houston, for example, skyrocketed from fourteenth in the nation in 1950 to sixth place in 1960. Los Angeles pushed Philadelphia out of third place in the nation.

San Francisco lost nearly 60,000 people. As a result, it stands to lose two of its six seats in the State Assembly and about 2 million dollars in grants from the State. These grants are based on population. Similar problems face dozens of other cities.

Thus, the eighteenth national census has brought some problems. But these are overshadowed by the statistics that reveal an expanding America with a potential for even greater growth in the years ahead.

* * *

The sprightly and exuberant reaction to the first releases of the 1960 census reflect the interest Americans have shown in each national enumeration. Cities and states puff out their chests at their growth. Or they begin a process of self-examination if there is no gain, or worse yet, if there is a loss. Growth

Population Changes by States, 1950 to 1960.

has been such a constant feature of American life that it has become, for many, a major measure of success, and, conversely, of failure.

Nothing can appear more dull than a mass of population statistics. But the statistics represent people like ourselves, our families, our neighbors and friends, families on the move, college students leaving home, marrying, taking a job elsewhere, and having children. "Getting ahead in the world" usually means moving to another place, and then another place. Providing the children with a suitable environment often means a move to the suburbs. Retiring gracefully may mean a decision to pull up roots and head south. The present population distribution is the result of millions of such personal decisions as well as of basic industrial and business decisions.

In this chapter, we shall analyze the statistics of the major population characteristics and trends which have an important bearing upon our lives. But first, let us make the acquaintance of a new breed of population students, the demographers.

Demographic analysis

What is demography?

Questions about population have concerned scholars and statesmen since ancient times. But demography, or the scientific study of human population, is of rather recent origin.

> . . . Measuring man's numbers and their changes has only recently been developed in most parts of the world. Some nations have practiced it in a rather crude form since ancient times, but only during the last two centuries have satisfactory statistical records of the population been available for large areas. These records still fall far short of world-wide coverage. They are well developed in Europe, northern America, and most of Oceania, but are incomplete for Latin America and lacking for important areas of Asia and Africa. An accurate appraisal of the total population of the earth is therefore yet to be achieved, and the present rate of increase of the human race as a whole is known only within wide limits.[1]

The science of demography is, of course, primarily concerned with description—ac-

[1] *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends,* p. 19, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 1953.

curate description by means of systematic and accurate observations and logical analysis. Specifically, demography is the scientific study ". . . of the size, territorial distribution, and composition of population, changes therein, and the components of such changes, which may be identified as natality, mortality, territorial movement (migration), and social mobility (change of status)." [1]

Demography is an activity not only of those who call themselves demographers but of scientists going under other names. Geographers and ecologists contribute to demography when they make studies about the distribution of population and the factors involved. Physical anthropologists make demographic studies concerning human physical types and their distribution. Economists make demographic studies to determine the location and number of present and potential workers as well as the present and potential consumer markets. And demographic analysis is employed at times by such a variety of investigators as public health experts, geneticists, psychologists, and even historians.

Sociology and demography

No discipline, however, is as closely related to demography as sociology. In fact, the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* [2] lists "Demographer" under the general heading of "Sociologists." The study of population has been one of the well-developed areas of interest among sociologists, and most demographers have advanced degrees in sociology. Furthermore, the majority of population courses in American colleges and universities are offered in sociology departments.[3]

How much of this close association of demography and sociology is historical accident or a logical outgrowth of sociological interests cannot be determined. But it is interesting to note a few of the interrelationships. We have observed the functional necessity of replacing members in any ongoing society. We have seen the effects of cultural innovations and a changed subsistence relationship to the environment upon population growth, and, in turn, the effect of sheer population growth upon community and societal organization.

Birth and death are not just biological events. Like other kinds of human behavior, birth rates and death rates are affected by the level of technology, community organization, and the norms and values of the society. As Donald Bogue has pointed out:

> A woman's actual childbearing usually is far below her potentiality, because it depends on marital status, the number and spacing of children wanted, the efficiency of family limitation practices, and on her and her husband's health.[4]

That society's norms make a difference can be seen in the differences in family size as between great-grandmother's day and our own, or between urban and rural dwellers, or between upper and lower status levels.

More examples of the important and enduring relationship between sociological and demographic characteristics could be cited. One cannot discuss human society, culture, and behavior adequately without referring to population factors. Nor can one fully understand population distribution, composition, and change without knowing something about the society, the culture, and the personalities of the people in the population.

Size and territorial distribution

One of the first tasks facing demographers is to answer the age-old questions: How many people are there, and where do they live? To find the answer, totals for an entire country and its many areal units are obtained. This results in population totals for communities, counties, states, and regions (or whatever the areal units of a country are called). This is a view of the size and territorial distribution as it exists at a given time.

Accordingly, we see in Table 15.1 that, in 1960, the United States had a total population of 179,323,175; and we see how this population was distributed by regions. We have the same for Canada and its provinces in Table 15.2. These and other much more detailed size and distribution tables tell us where the people live and in what numbers.

But Tables 15.1 and 15.2, by also making comparisons of size and distribution for two points in time, reveal another and even more

[1] Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan, "Overview and Conclusions," p. 2, in Hauser and Duncan, editors, *The Study of Population: An Inventory and Appraisal*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Copyright (1959) by the University of Chicago Press. Reprinted by permission.

[2] *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, p. 1241, U. S. Department of Labor, 1949.

[3] Wilbert E. Moore, "Sociology and Demography," in Hauser and Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 832.

[4] Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States*, p. 321, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1959. Reprinted with permission.

Table 15.1. Population of the United States by Regions and Divisions, 1960 and 1950

REGION AND DIVISION	POPULATION 1960	POPULATION 1950	CHANGE 1950 TO 1960	PER CENT OF CHANGE 1950 TO 1960	PER CENT OF CHANGE 1940 TO 1950
United States	179,323,175	151,325,798	27,997,377	18.5	14.5
Northeast	44,677,819	39,477,986	5,199,833	13.2	9.7
New England	10,509,367	9,314,453	1,194,914	12.8	10.4
Middle Atlantic	34,168,452	30,163,533	4,004,919	13.3	9.5
North Central	51,619,139	44,460,762	7,158,377	16.1	10.8
East North Central	36,255,024	30,399,368	5,825,656	19.2	14.2
West North Central	15,394,115	14,061,394	1,332,721	9.5	4.0
South	54,973,113	47,197,088	7,776,025	16.5	13.3
South Atlantic	25,971,732	21,182,335	4,789,397	22.6	18.8
East South Central	12,050,126	11,477,181	572,945	5.0	6.5
West South Central	16,951,255	14,537,572	2,413,683	16.6	11.3
West	28,053,104	20,189,962	7,863,142	38.9	40.9
Mountain	6,855,060	5,074,998	1,780,062	35.1	22.3
Pacific	21,198,044	15,114,964	6,083,080	40.2	48.8

fascinating interest of the demographer—the study of population change.

Population change

Population is always changing. Although the total may remain unchanged for a short period of time, people are being born, others die, and some are usually moving to other areas. These are the three variables involved in population change—and only these three: *natality* (births), *mortality* (deaths), and *migration.*

Table 15.2. Population of Canada, by Province, 1951–1960

PROVINCE	POPULATION IN 1951	ESTIMATED POPULATION IN 1960	PER CENT CHANGE 1951–60
Newfoundland	361,416	465,000	28.7
Prince Edward Island	98,429	105,000	6.7
Nova Scotia	642,584	727,000	13.1
New Brunswick	515,697	606,000	17.5
Quebec	4,055,681	5,170,000	27.5
Ontario	4,597,542	6,160,000	34.0
Manitoba	776,541	906,000	16.7
Saskatchewan	831,728	913,000	9.8
Alberta	939,501	1,306,000	39.0
British Columbia	1,165,210	1,626,000	39.5
Yukon Territory	9,096	14,000	53.9
Northwest Territories	16,004	22,000	37.5
All of Canada:	14,099,429	18,020,000	27.8

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

To analyze and discuss the variables in systematic fashion, demographers have developed many standard measures. We'll leave the complicated statistical procedures for the advanced student, but even the beginning student in sociology should familiarize himself with a few of the simple measurement rates.

Natality measures

The simplest and most commonly used measure of natality or fertility [1] is the *crude birth rate,* or the number of births annually per 1,000 persons in the total population under study. In Table 15.3, for example, the crude birth rates for the United States, Canada, England and Wales are shown. Quickly visible is the 1930–39 depression drop in each country, with a low of 18.78 annual births per thousand in the United States, and 14.87 in England and Wales. A revealing contrast is the continuing low crude birth rate in England and Wales since the 1930's as compared to a substantial rise in Canada and the United States.

Despite its common use, the crude birth rate is a limited natality measure because it does not take into account differences in age and sex composition. A more precise measure of fertility is the number of births annually per 1,000 women in the 15–49 child-bearing

[1] Fertility is not to be confused with fecundity. Fecundity is the potential physiological capacity to reproduce. Fertility or natality is the actual birth performance.

Table 15.3. Natality Rates for Selected Countries, 1920–54

YEARS	CRUDE BIRTH RATES			GENERAL FERTILITY RATES		
	UNITED STATES[1]	CANADA	ENGLAND & WALES	UNITED STATES	CANADA	ENGLAND & WALES
1920–24	26.81	28.15	21.34	107.7[2]	100.9[3]	79.2[4]
1925–29	23.22	24.52	17.12	—	96.3	—
1930–34	19.66	22.21	15.31	74.7[5]	89.2	56.5[6]
1935–39	18.78	20.32	14.87	70.6[5]	80.0	53.8
1940–44	21.17	23.02	15.49	77.7	89.6	57.1
1945–49	24.14	26.78	18.03	91.0	105.2	68.7
1950–54	24.91	27.69	15.46	97.9	112.6	61.7

[1] Adjusted for underregistration.
[2] 1920 only.
[3] Excluding Quebec, 1920–24 only.
[4] 1921 only.
[5] Excluding births to foreign-born women.
[6] 1931 only.
Source: *Recent Trends in Fertility in Industrialized Countries*, Table A, pp. 130–131 and Table G, pp. 153–154, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 1958.

Table 15.4. Age Specific Birth Rates (Per 1,000 Women) for Cohorts of Native White Women Born Between 1900 and 1935, in the United States

AGED 15 IN THE YEAR	AGE AT CONFINEMENT						
	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49
1915	18.3	78.4	75.8	49.2	28.9	8.9	0.7
1920	21.8	72.3	62.6	42.2	26.3	9.5	0.7
1925	20.5	63.0	59.3	46.6	31.7	9.3	
1930	16.7	59.5	67.6	53.7	29.2		
1935	18.6	72.1	83.3	59.0			
1940	19.0	85.2	90.8				
1945	26.1	103.5					
1950	30.2						

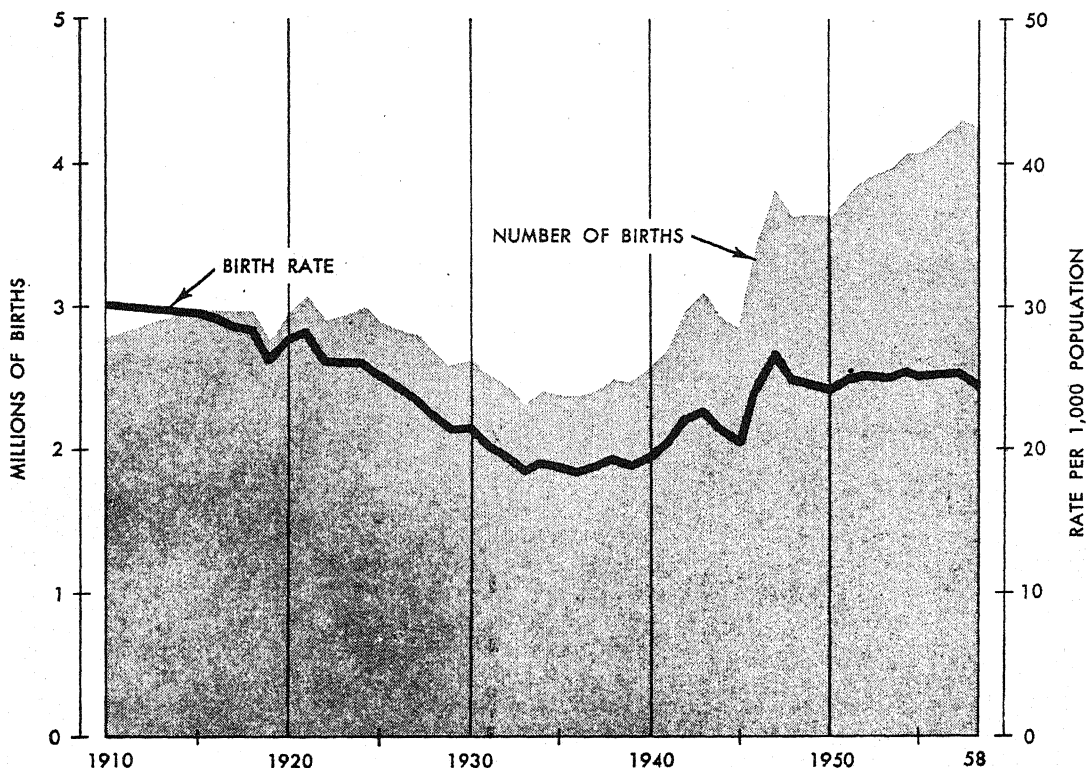
Selected from *Recent Trends in Fertility in Industrialized Countries*, Table M, p. 182, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York, 1958.

ages. This is called the *general fertility rate*, and this permits the comparison of the actual childbearing of women in different populations. The general fertility rates for the same three countries are also shown in Table 15.3, ranging from the 1930 depression low of 53.8 annual births per 1,000 women of childbearing age in England and Wales to a recent high of 112.6 in Canada.

For an even more precise measurement of fertility, the *age-specific birth rate* is used. This is the number of children born per 1,000 women in a specific age class, say 30–34 years of age. This permits us to note in Table 15.4, for example, that more American women in the 15–19 and 20–24 age classes bore children in 1945 and in 1950 than in any of the years since 1915.

Another useful fertility measure is the *net reproduction rate*. This rate takes into account the long-range effect of age-specific birth and death rates, so that a net reproduction rate of 1.00 means that the population will exactly replace itself. During the 1930's, the United States had a net reproduction rate of .98, which meant that the actual fertility was slightly below the point of replacement. By contrast, in 1957, the net reproduction rate was 1.76 or 76 per cent above replacement needs.[1]

The graph on page 207 gives an overview of fertility changes in the United States from 1910 to 1958. The shaded area shows the total annual births in millions. From a high of about 3 million in the early 1920's, the *annual births* dropped to less than 2.5 million in the depression thirties, rising again to a level of over 4 million since 1955. The *crude birth rate* dropped from a high of about 30 to a low of 18.78 in the 1935–39 period.

[1] *Statistical Yearbook of the United States*, p. 54. Among whites it was 1.69; among non-whites, 2.20.

Total births and crude birth rate, United States, 1910 to 1958. (Children in a Changing World. Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1960)

Since then it has risen, leveling off at about 25 during the 1950's.

However, as the chart so clearly shows, the crude birth rate does not tell the whole story. With a larger proportion of children and old people in the population, the birth rate per 1,000 of the total population obscures the increasing general fertility rate. As was shown in Table 15.3, the number of births per 1,000 women of childbearing age has been increasing, and there is further evidence that a larger number of them are having a third and fourth child.

Mortality measures

In the measurement of mortality, the most basic rate is the *crude death rate*. This is simply the number of deaths annually per 1,000 persons in the total population. In Table 15.5 the United States changes in the crude death rate from a high of 17.2 in 1900 to 9.5 in 1958 are shown. Drops in the crude death rate throughout the world have accompanied advances in sanitation and modern health practices. Even Western Europe had rates of 30 to 40 in the eighteenth century. Today, a rate of over 20 is indicative of poor health and living conditions.

Table 15.5. Crude Birth, Death, and Natural Increase Rates for the United States in Selected Years, 1900–1958

YEAR	CRUDE BIRTH RATE (ADJUSTED)	CRUDE DEATH RATE	RATE OF NATURAL INCREASE
1900	—	17.2	—
1905	—	15.9	—
1910	—	14.7	—
1915	25.0	13.2	11.8
1920	23.7	13.0	10.7
1925	21.3	11.7	9.6
1930	18.9	11.3	7.6
1935	16.9	10.9	6.0
1940	17.9	10.8	7.1
1945	19.5	10.6	8.9
1950	23.6	9.6	14.0
1955	24.6	9.3	15.3
1958	24.3	9.5	14.8

Source: *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, 1960, Table 51.

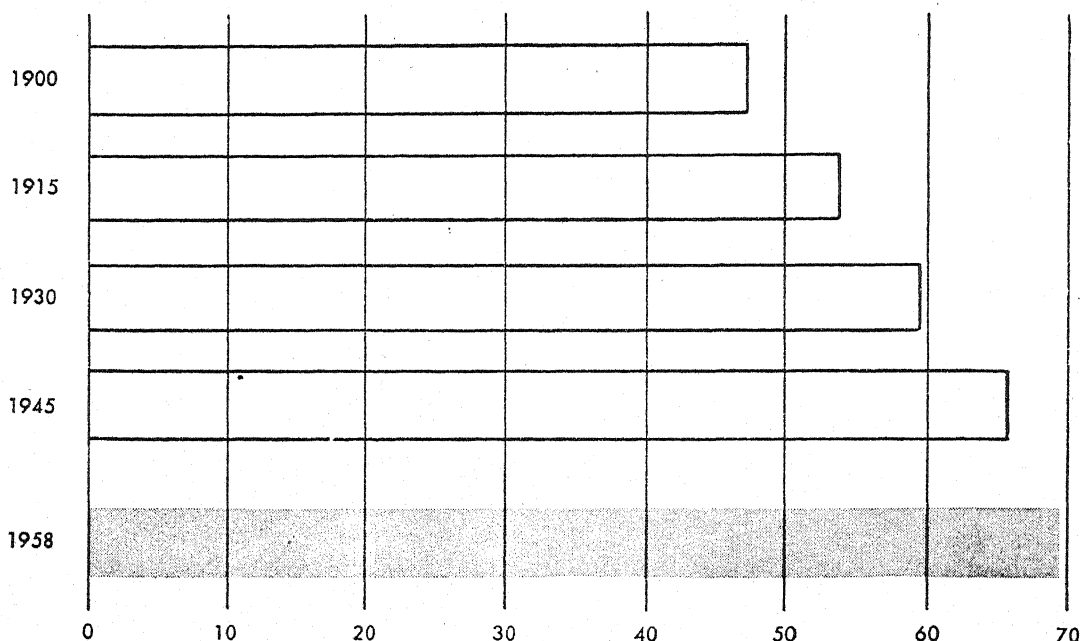
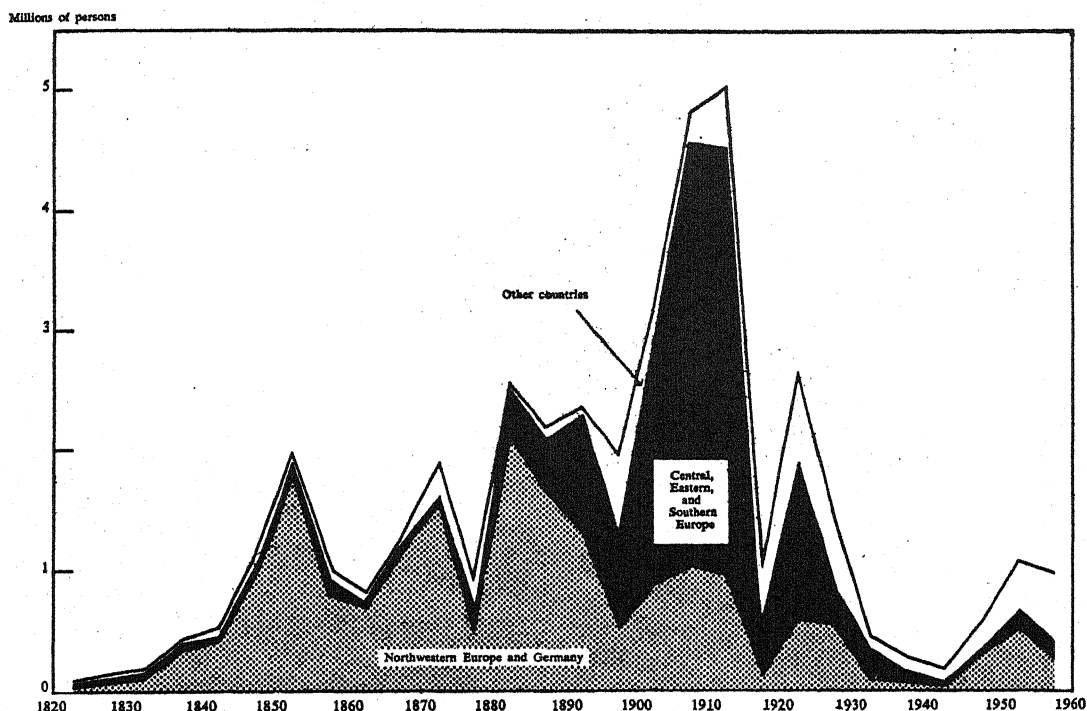
Mortality can, of course, be measured

Changes in average life expectancy at birth, United States, 1900–1958. (Children in a Changing World. Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1960)

Table 15.6. Changes in Causes of Death, United States Death Rates per 100,000 Population, 1947 and 1956

CAUSE OF DEATH	RATE 1947	RATE 1956	CHANGE 1947–1956
Tuberculosis, all forms	32.1	8.4	−23.7
Malignant neoplasms, total	133.5	147.9	14.4
of digestive organs and peritoneum	55.2	52.5	− 2.7
of respiratory system	11.4	19.2	7.8
of breast	11.8	13.3	1.5
of genital organs	22.8	22.6	− 0.2
Diabetes mellitus	14.9	15.7	0.8
Major cardiovascular-renal disease	507.2	510.7	3.5
Diseases of the heart	348.7	360.5	11.8
Vascular lesion affecting central nervous system	103.6	106.3	2.7
General arteriosclerosis	20.2	19.1	− 1.1
Chronic rheumatic heart disease	15.1	11.4	− 3.7
Chronic and unspecified nephritis and other renal diseases	19.3	9.1	−10.2
Influenza and pneumonia	38.7	28.2	−10.5
Congenital malformations	13.8	12.6	− 1.2
Certain diseases of early infancy	48.0	38.6	− 9.4
Accidents: motor vehicle	22.8	23.7	0.9
other	43.0	33.0	−10.0
Suicide	11.6	10.0	− 1.6

Source: *Vital Statistics of the United States*, 1956, Table BP, p. c.

more precisely by the use of *age-specific death rates*. Or, death rates attributable to specific diseases can be computed. We all die, but there have been important changes in the average age of death and the specific causes of death. Even a 1947–1956 comparison (Table 15.6) shows important changes. The greatest reduction has resulted from better treatment of tuberculosis, influenza, and pneumonia, and nonauto acci-

Number of immigrants (five-year totals) to the United States, by region of origin, 1820 to 1957. (From Donald J. Bogue, The Population of the United States, The Free Press, *Glencoe, Ill., 1959)*

dents. But death rates from cancer (especially of the respiratory system) and the diseases of the heart have risen, both reflecting the aging characteristic of the population.

The average *life expectancy* at birth has also increased over the years, as shown on page 208. The greatest change has been the 75 per cent decline in the infant death rate between 1915 and 1957.[1] But there have also been significant reductions in the age-specific death rates in the other early years and even the middle years.

> According to the 1958 death rate, the typical American's chances of surviving the hazards of infancy, childhood, and adulthood . . . to the age of 60 are better than 3 out of 4 as compared with less than 1 out of 2 in 1900.[2]

Natural increase. The difference between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate is called the *crude rate of natural increase*. This is the annual net growth, per thousand population, attributable solely to births and deaths. As shown in Table 15.5, the natural increase rate was 11.8 in 1915, dropping to 6.0 in 1935. This low rate during the depression led to the pessimistic predictions about the leveling off of United States population by the end of the century. However, as the table shows, the birth rate and the natural increase rate have been running high during the prosperous post-World War II period. Demographers had not yet learned how much the birth rate correlates with depression and prosperity in industrial countries.

Migration

The third important variable in accounting for population changes is *migration*. With reference to a given geographic area, migration divides into *immigration* or in-migration and *emigration* or out-migration. Either type of migration is usually measured in terms of the per cent of in- or out-migrants in the given population.

The United States is a nation of immigrants and the descendants of immigrants. Between 1819 and 1954, over 40 million persons immigrated to the United States, 33.8 million of them from Europe. As seen in the above graph, which shows five-year totals,

[1] *Children in a Changing World*, p. 18, Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1960.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18. Reprinted by permission.

the number of immigrants has varied considerably by time periods. The high total of the 1880–90 decade constituted an average annual addition of over 8 per cent to the then existing population; and that of the 1900–10 decade, over 9.5 per cent.

This graph also shows the shift, beginning about 1880, from a predominantly northern and western European immigration to one stemming from the regions of central, eastern, and southern Europe. The volume and the cultural difference of this latter immigration concerned the earlier arrivals and led to the Quota Immigration Acts of the 1920's. Immigration dropped to a trickle in the 1930's, rising again after World War II. The total number of foreign-born in the United States in 1960 was just under 10 million, or about 5.4 per cent of the population.

Internal migration. Even more significant for regional, state, and local population changes is internal migration. During the year ending March, 1958, about 34 million persons changed their residence. Of these 11.5 million moved to a different county, 5.7 million to another state, and 3 million to another major region of the United States.[1] This was not an unusual year. The result, over the years, is that ". . . not more than 2 or 3 per cent of the adult population has spent its entire life in one house or apartment, and perhaps not more than 10–15 per cent live their entire lives within the same county . . ."[2] As Bogue adds, "Few, if any, populations of the world are so mobile, on a routine basis, as the residents of the United States."[3]

The first major internal migration trend was the historic westward movement to occupy the land. The other major historical trend has been the rural to urban migration as the nation industrialized. (See the chart on page 211.) In 1790, date of the first census, the United States had an urban population of only 5 per cent, and the two largest cities, Philadelphia and New York, had populations of only 42,520 and 33,131 respectively. By World War I, we had become 50 per cent urban, and by 1960, 69.9 per cent urban.

Both historic internal migration trends are still visible today, although the East to West movement today is essentially an urban shift. In the 1957–58 residential mobility referred to earlier, the West gained 7 per cent. All other major regions, except the Northeast, showed net losses.

That the role of net migration in the population gains of individual states is substantial is shown in Table 15.7. In the six states showing the most 1940–50 gain, more of the gain was attributable to migration than to natural increase, and in California, 72 per cent of the 53.3 per cent gain was accounted for by net migration.

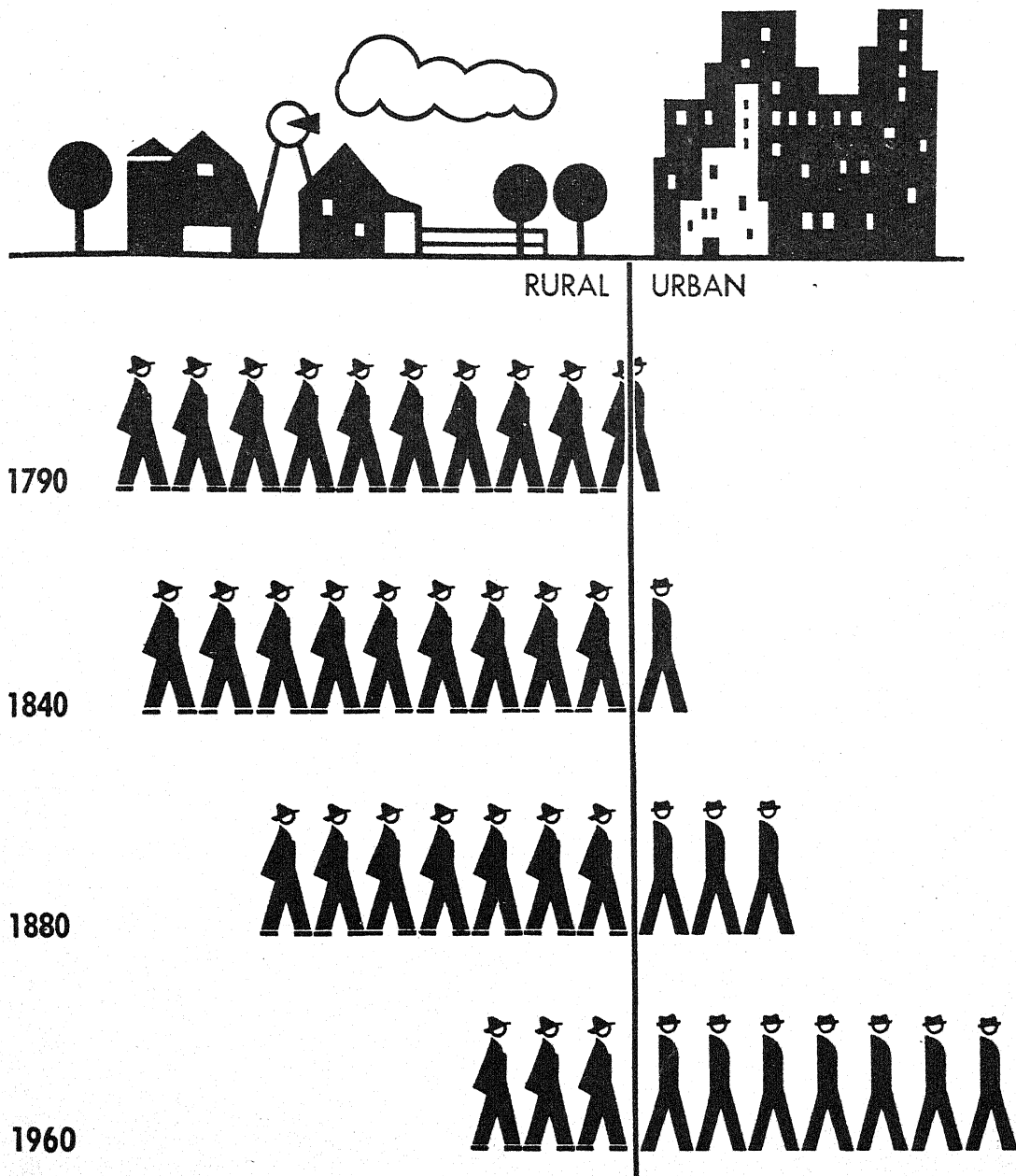
Table 15.7. Population Increase and Its Components in Six Fastest Growing States, 1940–50, by Per Cent

STATES	NET CHANGE IN TOTAL POPULATION 1940 to 1950	NATURAL INCREASE	NET MIGRATION
California	53.3	14.8	38.5
Arizona	50.1	22.5	27.6
Florida	46.1	16.5	29.6
Nevada	45.2	14.5	30.9
Oregon	39.6	13.5	26.1
Washington	37.0	14.6	22.4

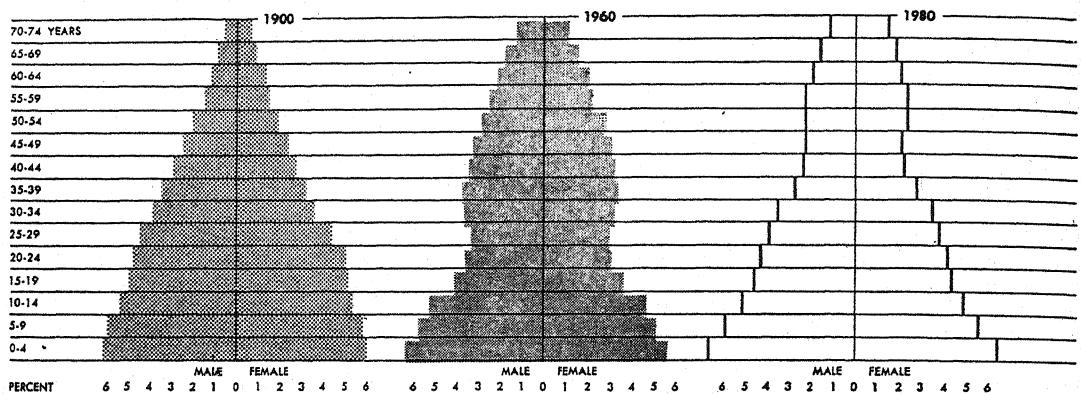
Source: Charles A. R. Wardwell, *Regional Trends in the United States Economy*, Appendix, Table 10, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1951.

Population composition

In the preceding discussion of population change, we have at the same time discussed the territorial distribution of the population in the United States. Another form of distribution studied by demographers is the *composition* of the population. They are interested, for example, in the age-composition, i.e., the proportions of the population in the various age categories. Similarly, they seek to ascertain the percentages belonging to the various races and ethnic categories or the composition of the population in terms of such factors as sex, marital status, school enrollment, educational attainment, employment by type of occupation and type of industry, religious affiliation, etc. In terms of characteristics such as these, they seek an accurate description of the population at a given time, and the changes in composition

[1] *Statistical Yearbook of the United States*, pp. 36–37 and *Children in a Changing World*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[2] Bogue, *op. cit.*, p. 375. Reprinted with permission.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 375. Reprinted with permission.

Each symbol represents 10 percent of total population PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

which occur. The latter, of course, are in turn related to the population change variables of natality, mortality, and migration.

An extensive treatment of composition is quite beyond the scope of introductory sociology. However, it is desirable that the student become familiar with a graphic device for the simultaneous presentation of age and sex composition data: the *population pyramid*. The figure on page 212 demonstrates its

Population pyramids showing the age and sex composition of the U. S. population in 1900, 1960 and as predicted for 1980. (Children in a Changing World. Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D .C., 1960)

usefulness in showing changes from one period of time to another.[1]

In 1900, the composition formed an almost perfect pyramid, with children under five forming the broad base, with fewer in each successive five-year age category, and with very few in the 70-year and older class. In the 1960 pyramid, interesting changes are visible. We see the effects of the low birth rate of the 1930's in the smaller percentages to be found in the 20–29 age classes. The rise in the birth rate since World War II is also clearly reflected in the age categories under 15. In the upper half of the pyramid, comparative increases are visible. The greater percentage above age 65 is particularly striking.

The 1980 projection of present trends shows increasingly larger percentages in the younger age classes, in the older age brackets, and a relatively smaller proportion in the productive ages. The pyramid shows only percentages. When it is kept in mind that the total population is expected to continue its current rapid growth, we can begin to imagine what the 1980 projection will mean. For one thing, it will mean many more classrooms and teachers in the local community. The percentage and gross increase at the college age, plus the fact that a larger proportion of that age is expected to go to college, means an enormous expansion of higher educational facilities and faculties. With a larger proportion and gross number in the retirement age brackets, more provision for old age housing and health needs will be made. Among other things, this may mean higher taxes for those in the productive age classes. The pyramid is a simple device, but it tells an interesting population story which has a direct bearing upon our own lives, our future, and that of our children.

In this section, we have been looking through the demographer's eyes at the "size, territorial distribution and composition of population, changes therein and the components of such changes," and we have done so primarily in terms of United States population data. We turn now to some of the population characteristics and trends of the world.

World population trends

From the doorway of a tumble-down Singapore tenement one morning last week, the wife of a Chinese stevedore watched her five naked children scrambling in the teeming street and prayed that the baby she was soon to bear would be a boy. In a camp for Palestinian refugees outside the Jordanian city of Jericho, Mrs. Shamma Mohamed Sammour complacently accepted congratulations on the birth of her ninth child—a girl whom the Sammours decided to name Sariah, which in Arabic means rich. On his Brazilian ranch, lean, energetic Berlino de Andrade, 67, confided to friends that he had decided to have no more children, but was unworried by the problem of supporting the 36 he had already sired. Said Berlino: "If I can't do anything better for them, I can always raise them as God raises potatoes."

Regardless of faith, color, or condition, humans all around the earth last week were busily demonstrating the truth of the proposition that everybody loves a baby. In Washington's Commerce Department Building, a light atop the "U. S. population clock" flashed every eleven seconds to mark the birth of another American. If a "world population clock" existed, it would have been flashing three times a second. Enough little Indians were being born to add

[1] The pyramid is also useful in comparing the composition of populations of any kinds, for example: areas within a community, communities, states, regions, and nations.

the equivalent of another New York City to the world's population every year, and enough little Chinese to add another Canada. As 1960 began, the world's population stood at 2.8 billion; within 40 years, predicted U. N. experts, it would be somewhere between 6 and 7 billion.

Long a hot topic among pundits, whose jargon phrase for it is "the population explosion," the startling twentieth century surge in humanity's rate of reproduction may be as fateful to history as the H-bomb and the Sputnik, but it gets less public attention. Today two-thirds of the human race does not get enough to eat. And it is among the hungry peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that the population explosion is most violent. In 1900 there was one European including those of European descent for every two Asians; by 2000 there will probably be four Asians for every European, and perhaps twice as many Americans living south of the Rio Grande as north of it. If by then, all that faces the growing masses of what is euphemistically called "the underdeveloped nations" is endless, grinding poverty, their fury may well shake the earth.[1]

The long-term trend

In this journalistic but accurate fashion, *Time* opened a feature report on an attention-getting subject: "the population explosion." Is this striking phrase a "scare" term or is it justified? Let us look back for a moment.

At the beginning of the Christian era, the world population is estimated to have been between 200 and 300 million.[2] The population was held to this figure by the ravages of disease and the available food—that is, by a high death rate. It took to A.D. 1650 for the food supply to permit the world population to reach 500 to 550 million. This amounted to a doubling of population in 1,650 years. The next doubling, however, took only 200 years, for the 1850 population was about 1,100 million. The rate of growth kept increasing so that during the next fifty years, the population grew 42 per cent, placing the world population at 1,550 million in 1900.

The continuing rate of increase during this century is strikingly shown in Table 15.8. At the 1925 rate of increase, only eighty-four years were required for a doubling of the world population. By 2000, when we will have an estimated 6,280 million people, it will take only thirty-five years for that population to double. Such are the current rates of growth.

Table 15.8. The Increasingly Rapid Growth of World Population During the Twentieth Century

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)	PER CENT INCREASE IN 25 YEARS	YEARS TO DOUBLE POPULATION AT THIS PERCENTAGE RATE
1900	1,550		
1925	1,907	23	84
1950	2,497	31	64
1975	3,800	53	41
2000	6,280	64	35

Source: *The Future Growth of World Population,* p. 21. Population Studies, No. 28. Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 1958.

Demographers are reluctant to make estimates too far in the future, for many unpredictable factors affect population growth. But if the present trends were to continue, in 600 years there would literally be "standing room only"—one square metre or just over one square yard of land surface per person. But as the U.N. report states in the same connection: "It goes without saying that this can never take place, something will happen to prevent it."[3]

But what *can* happen to prevent such a situation of "standing room only"? Let us analyze the factors accounting for this growth and review the changes in these factors which are possible.

Decline in the death rate

The key to the accelerated growth is not an increase in the birth rate but the fact that more of those born have lived and, on the average, have lived a longer time. In other words, the upsurge in population is due to a dramatic drop in the death rate.

What caused this drop? The answer is a more ample and stable food supply and improved health conditions. As late as 1850, even:

> European populations were subject to frequent famines. Lack of transportation made each small locality dependent upon its own harvest, and a crop failure resulted in famine even though within relatively short distances the harvests were normal. In western Europe alone, 450 more or less localized famines were recorded from 1000 to 1855.[4]

Furthermore, not all classes of society had equal access to the available food. Stern[5]

[1] *Time,* vol. 75, p. 19, January 11, 1960. Courtesy TIME; copyright TIME Inc., 1960.

[2] *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends, op. cit.,* p. 8.

[3] *The Future Growth of World Population,* p. v, Population Studies, No. 28, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 1958.

[4] *Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends, op. cit.,* p. 51. Reprinted by permission.

[5] B. J. Stern, *Society and Medical Progress,* p. 145, Princeton University Press, 1941.

reports that in 1844, one-third of the people in the United Kingdom and Ireland had nothing but potatoes to eat, and that another third were able to add only coarse bread and the "refuse of the shambles" (slaughter-houses) twice a week.

Disease also took its toll:

> Apparently the human race has suffered from the ravages of epidemics for untold centuries. Until recent times, plague, cholera, smallpox, typhus, and other diseases occurred frequently in Europe and elsewhere added to the miseries caused by food shortages and were responsible for enormous losses of life.[1]

As a consequence, death rates in Europe were still very high 150 years ago.

> According to Sundbarg's estimates for 1800–1820, the death rate in all Europe exceeded 32 per thousand population, about three times its present average. It was around 38 per thousand in eastern Europe and 27 per 1,000 population in northwest Europe.[2]

As for the specific improvements which cut the European death rate to a third, in little more than a century:

> It is not possible on the basis of existing data to measure separately the effects of such diverse causes as the improvements in nutrition, housing, environmental sanitation, personal hygiene, and medical knowledge and services or the increasing health consciousness of people . . . It is even less feasible to isolate the effects of various underlying economic and social changes such as the rise in real wages, the improvement of agricultural techniques, the development of transportation facilities, or the enactment of specific laws relating to employment conditions, housing, etc. . . .
>
> However, up to about 1850, the death rate decline . . . was due more to a rising level of living, better working conditions, and broad social reforms than to the development of scientific methods for the control of individual diseases. . . .
>
> In the twentieth century, the general improvements in social and economic conditions have continued in Western countries, supplemented by more and more effective medical knowledge and public health methods for combating particular diseases. The following influences underlying the decline in mortality in the United States during the twentieth century are also applicable to other countries in which mortality rates are now low: increase in the number of doctors and improvement in their quality; the development of community sanitation and the education of the public in health measures; the growth of an intelligent humanitarianism which manifested itself in social work, the promotion of hospitals and clinics, and social welfare activities of many kinds; the increase in wage levels and the improvement in working conditions; better housing, and the strengthening of attitudes regarding the desirability and possibility of achieving healthful standards of living.[3]

Rise in natural increase as the first consequence

The drop in the death rate came more slowly in the Europeanized parts of the world than it has recently come to some other areas. But whether the death rate decline comes slowly or fast, the birth rates tend to continue at high levels for some time. The values and customs of people adjusted for centuries to the necessity of high birth rates to offset the high death rates do not change quickly. The obvious consequence of a continuing high birth rate and a declining death rate is a rise in the rate of natural increase.

Moreover, when the death rate falls rapidly, as it has been made to do in many of the underdeveloped countries of the world, the rate of natural increase will go up dramatically. In Burma, for example, the 1957 birth rate was still the 37 per thousand it was in 1948. But during these nine years, the death rate dropped form 31.9 to 21.2, and this meant a rise in the natural increase rate from 5.1 to 15.8 per thousand—tripling of the rate of increase in a short nine year period. During the same 1948–57 period, Mexico's crude birth rate remained above 45, but the death rate went down from 16.7 to 12.9. This is a less dramatic drop, having been preceded by previous declines, but it brought the natural increase rate up to over 32 per thousand—more than twice the U. S. natural increase rate in 1957.[4]

In addition to the immediate rise of the natural increase rate caused by the drop in death rate and continued high birth rate, there is another factor which also speeds up population growth. Most of the lives saved by the drop in death rate are those of the very young. This fact alone soon increases the number and the proportion of the women of childbearing age. Therefore, even if the general fertility rate remains the same, the crude birth rate will actually go up.

However, birth rates have not, at least in the past, remained at the traditional high levels. Sooner or later, a decline has always

[1] *Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends, op. cit.*, p. 52. Reprinted by permission.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51. Reprinted by permission.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60. Reprinted by permission.
[4] *Demographic Yearbook*, 1958, pp. 230, 238. United Nations, 1958.

set in. Let us turn now to the decline as experienced by the industrialized nations.

Birth rate decline in industrialized nations

The beginnings of the Industrial Revolution and the general improvements of the late 1700's led to considerable optimism as to man's capacity to control the factors affecting his health and well-being and thus to achieve an ever-better life. But the optimism of Condorcet, Godwin, and Wallace brought a reaction from an English clergyman, Thomas Malthus, who saw the basic population factors in a different light. In 1798, he published the essay [1] which made him the pioneer of modern population students. In it, he argued that "the power of population growth is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man. . . . population, when unchecked, increases in geometrical ratio. Subsistence only increases in an arithmetical ratio . . ." [2]

As for the checks, Malthus listed under *positive* checks:

> . . . every cause . . . which in any degree contributes to shorten the natural duration of human life . . . all unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, pestilence, plague, and famine.[3]

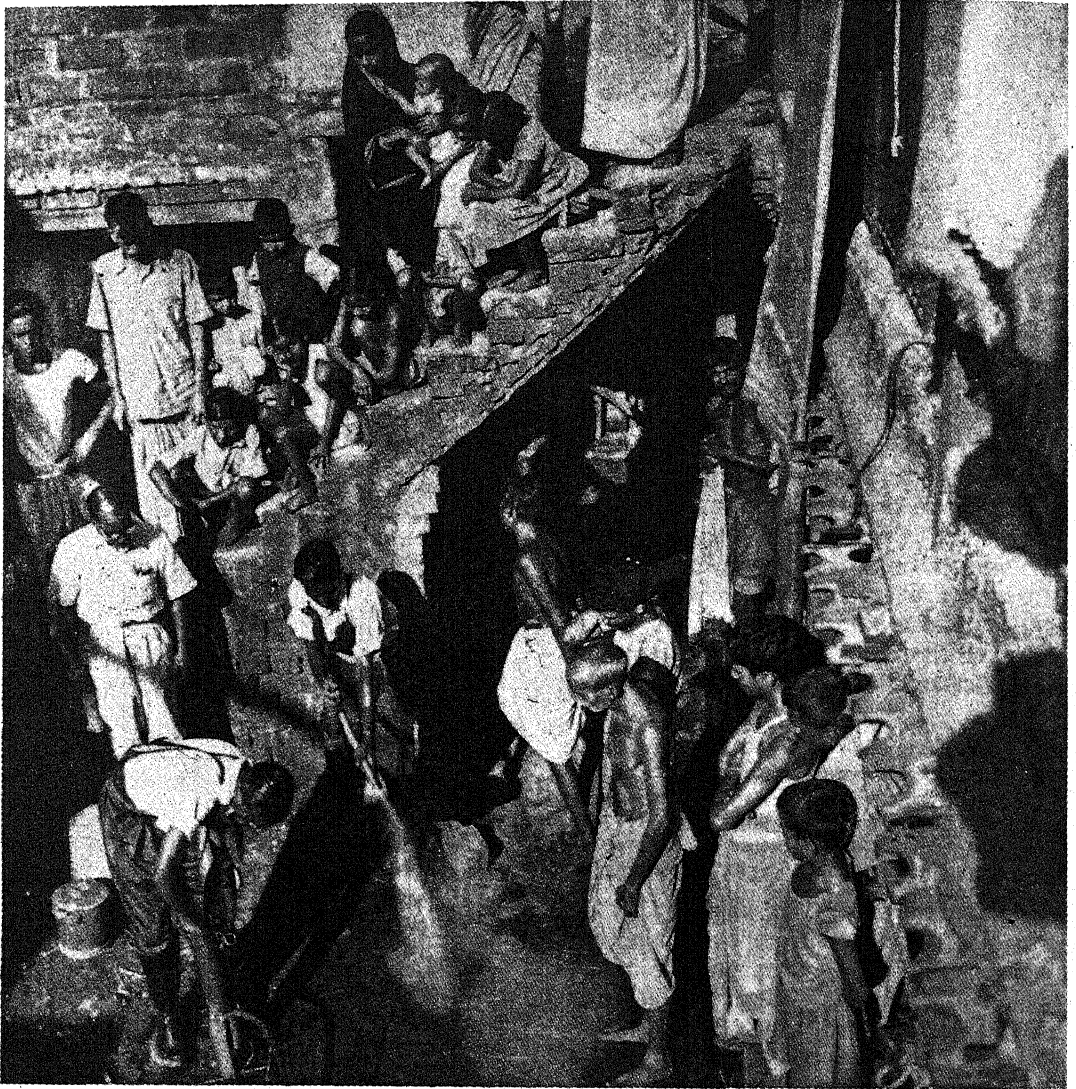
These were the checks, he maintained, which have kept population from outrunning subsistence. The only other possible checks would be the *preventive* checks of birth control and moral restraint. Ruling out birth control as a vice, the only acceptable method to Malthus was moral restraint—by means of late marriages and continence. In his judgment, however, not enough human beings, particularly among the poor, were capable of sufficient moral restraint for him to place much hope in preventive checks.

Malthus was on sound ground in pointing out the relationship between population and subsistence. The *capacity* to reproduce does usually exceed the ability to increase subsistence (though not by such nice mathematical progressions). But Malthus miscalculated 1) man's capacity to increase food production and, 2) more importantly, man's ability to employ preventive checks—that is, to reduce the birth rate.

We cannot be sure what the highest sustained human birth rate was. But in Africa and Asia (except Japan), the 1947 crude birth rates were estimated to be between 40 and 45, and in Latin America, 40. By contrast, the crude birth rate in Scandinavia, as early as 1735–1800, had dropped to an average of 31–34.[4] Further general decline in Europe began about 1870 (except in France and Ireland where it began earlier), and ". . . continued uninterruptedly in all of the Northwest European countries until about 1933–35, when the minimum was generally reached." [5]

> The birth rate in the United States . . . is known to have declined after 1800. The level of about 55 per thousand population in 1800 was, however, higher than that attained in the European countries due in large part to our younger population. The decline thereafter was fairly continuous until a low point of 18 was reached in 1933. In Australia and New Zealand the birth rate declined substantially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.
>
> In countries of southern and eastern Europe the crude birth rates did not begin to decrease until later. In Italy, for example, the decline was marked only after 1922. . . .[6]

Thus we see that in the industrialized societies of the world where the death rate first went down, a drop in the fertility rate eventually followed. One can speculate as to all the factors involved in this reduction of the birth rate and in family size. The shift from an agrarian to an industrial exchange economy had much to do with it, for it transformed children from family economic assets into economic liabilities. But industrialization brought with it a general increase in per capita goods, a wider access to goods, increased literacy and education, and increases in health possibilities. Sights were simply raised with regard to the "minimum necessities" and amenities of life. Some have called this change in living standards a "revolution of expectations." Responsibility toward children now included the provision of better physical care, education at the new levels, and these alone made family limitation desirable enough for large sections of the population to achieve it.

1 Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay in the Principles of Population*, 1798. Republished by Macmillan and Co., New York, 1895.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
4 *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends*, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
6 *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.

Spraying DDT in a World Health Organization (WHO) anti-malaria drive in India. Besides mosquitoes, fleas were killed thus cutting down the plague. Such mass health measures are relatively cheap and easy to apply thus rapidly reducing the death rate. (Courtesy World Health Organization)

The "haves" and the "have nots"

As Walter Prescott Webb has pointed out, European prosperity during the period of industrialization rested in part upon the successful exploitation of the resources of most of the remainder of the earth, profitably exchanging manufactured goods for raw materials and food.[1] But along with imperialism, the exploited areas were introduced to two enormously important factors: 1) health knowledge and 2) the possibility of a level of living far beyond that which they had taken for granted.

With the capital and philanthropy of the Western world, both health programs and industrialization began to be diffused to the non-Europeanized areas of the world. Both were quickly adopted by Japan, but most of Asia, Africa, and much of Latin America have, so far, gained more from the health measures than from the industrialization. The death rates have dropped and are dropping. But because the birth rate has not yet de-

[1] Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Frontier*, Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, 1952.

Table 15.9. Population of Technically Developed and Underdeveloped Areas of the World, 1950, 1975, and 2000

	TECHNICALLY DEVELOPED		TECHNICALLY UNDERDEVELOPED		
YEAR	POPULATION (MILLIONS)	AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE DURING THE 25 YEARS	POPULATION (MILLIONS)	AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE DURING THE 25 YEARS	PER CENT OF WORLD'S POPULATION
1950	863	1.2%	1,640	2.0%	65.5
1975	1,170		2,660		69.5
2000	1,490	1.0%	4,790	2.4%	76.3

Projections made on medium assumptions for each region.
Technologically developed areas: Northern America, Temperate South America, Japan, Europe, USSR, Australia, and New Zealand.
Technologically underdeveloped areas: Africa, Central America, the Caribbean, Tropical South America, all Asia except USSR and Japan, and the Pacific Islands.
Source: *The Future Growth of World Population*, p. 22, United Nations, 1958.

clined, the natural increase rate has gone up rapidly. The result is a world which can roughly be divided into the industrialized "have" nations whose populations are now growing at a moderate rate and the "underdeveloped" or "have not" nations whose populations are growing much more rapidly.

The differences between the two sets of countries show up with force and clarity in Table 15.9. The "have" rate of growth is just above 1 per cent annually and is slowing down. But in the "have not" areas, the rate of annual growth is twice as great and is accelerating. By the year 2000, if present trends continue, the underdeveloped areas which outnumber us two to one at the present, will outnumber us three to one. A careful perusal, at the bottom of Table 15.9, of the parts of the world in the "underdeveloped" classification will suggest that more than a population explosion is involved. As was suggested earlier, continued frustration of the rising hopes of the most populous and fastest growing countries also has in it the makings of a political explosion.

But, war and revolution aside, what are the alternatives for the underdeveloped regions of the earth?

A basic necessity, of course, is a rapid increase in food production. But the race between population increases and food increases is nip and tuck at best and is a losing one in some areas. Sometimes temporary gains are made. But, the only way in which a long-term gain in food and living standards can be made is through a reduction in the birth rate. The capital gains necessary for industrialization (upon which the underdeveloped countries are pinning their hopes for a better standard of living) cannot be achieved as long as the subsistence gains continue to be absorbed by more persons to feed. Without fertility reduction, the only long-run prospect for most persons in the underdeveloped nations is a continued, grinding poverty.

Clear recognition of the issue has been shown in India, for example, where fertility reduction is officially seen as the only way by which India's huge efforts at raising living standards can have any hope of success. Officially or unofficially, thoughtful leaders in other underdeveloped countries are recognizing the same blunt reality.

How many persons could be fed?

The question of how many people the world could support usually comes into the discussion. But this is increasingly seen as a false issue as far as the future is concerned. Food limitation did place a direct ceiling on population size throughout most of human history. Theoretically, of course, it still does. But the still unfarmed areas of the world (much of Brazil, for example), the recent advances and prospects in food production, the virtually untapped possibilities of ocean food make it likely that factors other than food production will come into play first to set the future ceiling.

The factors are more apt to be level of living factors, space for example. With the revolution of expectations still going on, how much crowding will people tolerate? With the increased social organization required to run an increasingly complex and delicately articulated division of labor, how much central control over behavior will people endure? The major issue is not food, but the achievement of a rising standard of living. The ex-

perience of the advanced nations shows that achieving and maintaining healthful conditions and an advanced level of living *can* provide the motivation for successful and substantial fertility limitation.

Demographers speak of the "demographic transition" or the "vital revolution." Traditionally, population was maintained at a stationary or slightly increasing level by high birth and high death rates. The industrialized nations are now achieving the same or even greater rate of growth by means of low birth and low death rates. This is indeed a revolutionary change in human life. In the industrial countries, this transition did not, of course, come all at once. The death rates dropped first, and gradually. The drop in the birth rate lagged but eventually followed.

Today, the underdeveloped nations are experiencing the first step in the demographic transition. But unlike the European experience, the drop in the death rate has come fast. The birth rate, however, continues high —resulting in the unusually rapid population growth we have discussed. No one can say for sure that the birth rate will eventually drop, but it is doubtful that the revolution of expectations will long be denied by a failure to adopt fertility limitation practices of one kind or another.

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Chapter 16

The Contemporary Urban Community

Suburbia, U.S.A.

The wreath that rings every U. S. metropolis is a green garland of place names and people collectively called Suburbia. It weaves through the hills beyond the cities, marches across flatlands that once were farms and pastures, dips into gullies and woodlands, straddles the rocky hillocks and surrounds the lonesome crossroads. Oftener than not it has a lilting polyphony that sings of trees (Streamwood, Elmwood, Lakewood, Kirkwood), the rolling country (Cedar Hill, Cockrell Hill, Forest Hills), or the primeval timberlands (Forest Grove, Park Forest, Oak Park, Deer Park). But it has its roots in such venerable names as Salem, Greenwich, Chester, Berkeley, Evanston, Sewickley and Rye.

In those towns and hills and groves last week the splendor of a new summer seemed, as always, to give a new lilt to life. The hills and fields triumphed with fresh green grass. In the old towns, the giant oaks and elms threw rich new shade across the white colonial mansions and the square, peak-roofed clapboard houses. In fresh-minted subdivisions, sycamore striplings strained at their stakes to promise token cover for the bare houses of glass, steel, stone and shingle that have sprouted (19 million since 1940) as from a bottomless nest of Chinese boxes. School buses headed toward the season's last mile; power mowers and outboard motors pulsed the season's first promise. Fragrance of honeysuckle and roses overlay the smell of charcoal and seared beef. The thud of baseball against mitt, the abrasive grind of roller skate against concrete, the jarry harmony of the Good Humor bell tolled the day; the clink of ice, the distant laugh, the surge of hi-fi through the open window came with the night.

For better or for worse, Suburbia in the 1960s is the U. S.'s grass-roots. In Suburbia live one-third of the nation, roughly 60 million people who represent every patch of democracy's hand-stitched quilt, every economic layer, every laboring and professional pursuit in the country. Suburbia is the nation's broadening young middle class, staking out its claim across the landscape, prospecting on a trial-and-error basis for the good way of life for itself and for the children that it produces with such rapidity. . . .

"Suburbia, U.S.A." is from *Time*, June 20, 1960. Courtesy *Time*; copyright Time Inc., 1960.

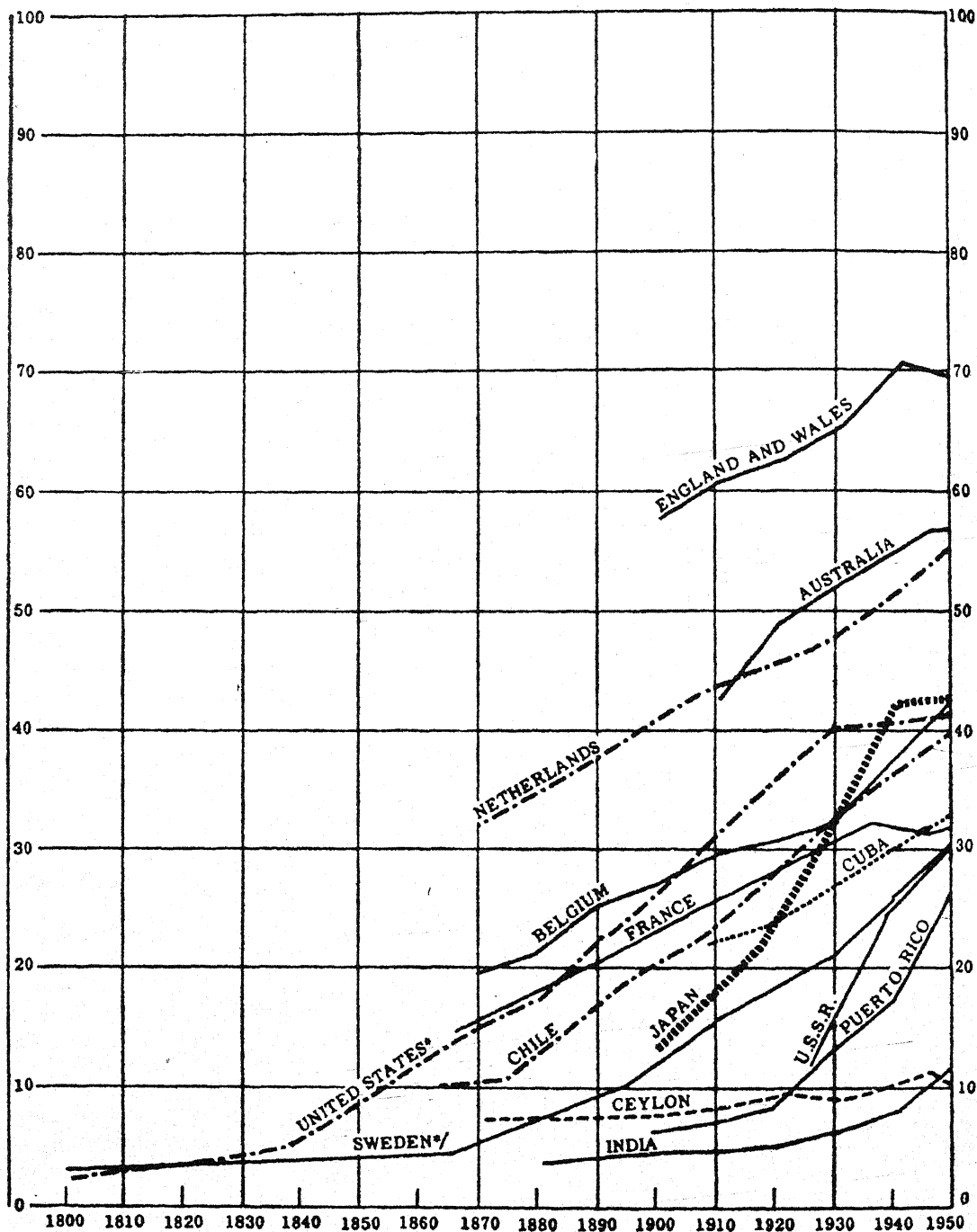
* * *

Urbanization

It is true that Suburbia is now the most rapidly growing sector of urban life. But in all of American history, the urban population has grown faster than the rural population. In 1790, the United States had only twenty-four "urban places" with a population of 2,500 or more. In 1960, there were 5,443 such places. It was 1820 before the U.S. Census recorded a city of 100,000 (New York). Not until 1840, did New York reach the size of 250,000. By 1870, no city had yet reached the million mark. But by 1880, New York had 1.9 million; and by 1890, Chicago and Philadelphia had joined the million class, to be followed in 1930 by Detroit and Los Angeles.

In terms of the more realistic concept of "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas," (defined on page 229), the 1960 census revealed that twenty-four such areas had populations of over one million.

The historic trend, accordingly, has been not only an increase in the percentage living in "urban places" but also in the proportion living in the largest urban areas. Today, one out of three Americans (34 per cent) is living in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of a million or more.

The modern urbanization trend, resting as it does upon the expansion of modern industrial and agricultural technology, began in England but has spread, in varying degrees, through much of the world since 1800. Be-

* Basic unit is locality of 25,000 or more.

Urbanization in selected Countries, 1800 to 1950, showing the per cent of the population living in cities of 20,000 or more. (From Report on the World Social Situation, p. 116, United Nations, 1957)

tween 1800 and 1950, the number of the world's population living in cities of 20,000 or more is estimated to have increased about twenty-three times, from 22 million to about 502 million. These figures are based upon Kingsley Davis' estimates of urban growth as shown in Table 16.1.

Table 16.1. Percentage of World's Population Living in Cities [1]

	CITIES OF 20,000 OR MORE	CITIES OF 100,000 OR MORE
1800	2.4	1.7
1850	4.3	2.3
1900	9.2	5.5
1950	20.9	13.1

[1] From Kingsley Davis, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 60, pp. 429–437, March, 1955. Copyright (1955) by the University of Chicago Press.

The first nations to industrialize had the most rapid urban growth during the nineteenth century. For these countries, the rate of urbanization is slowing down. It is in the newly industrializing nations that the present rate of urban growth is highest. Consequently, for the world as a whole, there is as yet no reduction in the rate of urbanization. At present rates, in fact,

> . . . more than a fourth of the earth's people will be living in cities of 100,000 or more in the year 2000, and more than half in the year 2050. For places of 20,000 or more, the proportions at the two dates would be something like 45 per cent and 90 per cent. Whether such figures prove too low or too high, they nevertheless suggest that the human species is moving rapidly in the direction of . . . "urbanized societies," nations in which the great majority of inhabitants live in cities. The prospect is that, as time goes on, a greater and greater proportion of humanity will be members of such societies.[1]

The growth of the modern city

Technological developments

The relationship of the Industrial Revolution to the growth of modern cities was discussed in Chapter Fourteen. But it is interesting to see how the various components of this technological revolution—the specialization, division of labor, exchange of goods, application of inanimate power to machines, and the necessary improvement in transportation and communication—actually came into being in the case of a particular city; and to see the effect of the developments upon both population size and community organization. Queen and Carpenter offer the following description: [2]

> One of the first great cities to be developed in the Industrial Revolution was Manchester, England. But its origin was much earlier. Apparently the site was first occupied by a Roman camp. Subsequently a Saxon community grew up. In Norman times it was part of a feudal estate with a market, a fair, and a borough court. There is evidence that the textile industry had taken root here before 1300. This received an impetus from the coming of Dutch and Flemish workers invited by Edward III. Through the sixteenth century the raw materials were wool and flax; by the middle of the seventeenth some cotton was being imported. The stuff was given out to be taken home, carded, spun, woven, bleached or dyed, and returned to the Merchant-clothier—the so-called domestic system. Hence, there was no large population in the town. In 1650, Manchester had less than 5,000 inhabitants.
>
> But the domestic system was not very efficient. A weaver sometimes had to walk 3 or 4 miles in the morning to collect enough yarn to keep him busy through the day. By 1750 there were master weavers who, instead of giving out homework, brought together journeymen and apprentices in shops with 5 to 20 looms apiece. As a result of this centralization, the population of Manchester had grown to 17,000. But industry and urban development were alike hampered by primitive transportation facilities. We read of wagons and caravans of pack horses going weekly to London and Bristol. During the next half century, good roads were built and waterways were opened connecting Manchester with Liverpool and with inland towns.
>
> In 1769 water power was applied to spinning machines, and soon mills were set up wherever there was a good water-power site. Industry was again decentralized, leaving to Manchester certain finishing processes and marketing. But by 1800 available waterpower sites had nearly all been utilized. Meanwhile the development of the steam engine and of nearby coal fields helped to reverse the trend and to bring about a new concentration of mills in Manchester. By 1800 the city had 70,000 inhabitants, of whom 10,000 were Irish immigrants. Naturally the city spread out, but it also became more congested in the center. New residential districts grew up in outlying sections, but near the heart of the city old houses were turned into converted tenements, where whole families were crowded into single rooms. Newer dwellings were put up in "gloomy little courts and blind alleys," while hundreds of families lived in dark, damp cellars. New streets in outlying districts were wide and straight, but those in the central and older section were narrow, winding, and for the most part unlighted and unpaved. In 1776

[1] Kingsley Davis, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 60, p. 434, March, 1955. Copyright (1955) by the University of Chicago Press. Reprinted by permission.

[2] By permission from *The American City*, pp. 51–52, by Stuart A. Queen and David B. Carpenter. Copyright 1953. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. Reprinted by permission.

there was some widening, but not until 1821 was there a more general clearance. Moreover its purpose was to facilitate traffic rather than to improve the public health. In 1830 the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railway brought another aid to urban development. By 1850 the population had risen to nearly 400,000. Thus grew up one of the first great industrial cities.

For even 400,000 persons to live in an industrial city, the technology and social organization had to be advanced to a point never before achieved. There had to be enough economic activity to provide work and a living for this many persons. It had to be possible to exchange manufacturing services for enough food. Enough raw materials had to be imported to keep the working population occupied, and most of the manufactured products had to be exported to consumers in other places. All this required an enormous transportation capacity. And not until inanimate energy was applied in the form of steam locomotives and steamships, could the transportation be adequate to the needs of an industrial community of 400,000. Similarly, communication and banking facilities had to match the exchange needs of a community of this size—and of the other communities with which it was industrially and commercially related.

Increases in city size since that time have depended upon the expansion and improvement of just such basic factors: more surplus food per farmer; more storage and transportation for the increased food (eventually extended by means of canning, cold storage, refrigerator railroad cars, frozen foods); more inanimate power applied to new machines to make more kinds of products; more raw materials; larger markets for the city-processed goods; larger-scale and faster transportation; enlarged and more rapid communication; and more money-credit facilities.

As the volume of manufacture and exchange increased permitting the growth of larger cities, certain technological improvements *within* the city were also required. The storage and distribution of goods had to be expanded. Provision had to be made for internal public transportation, from the early horse-drawn street railways to modern buses, subways, and expressway systems. More housing and taller central buildings were needed, with the advent of steel and elevators finally making the skyscraper possible. A newspaper system of communication became necessary. Education had to keep up with the more complex needs of manufacturing and commerce. Similarly, government had to keep step with the expanding needs for social control and community services.

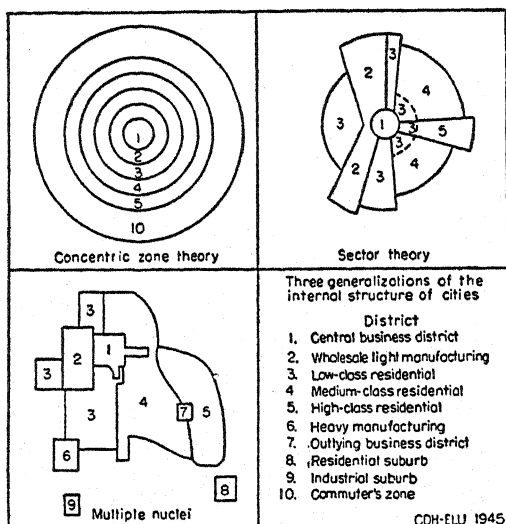
Urban growth has meant all of these. Cities do not exist in a vacuum. They are centers of manufacture, trade, and services for a much larger area. They grow with increased economic activities. The increased activities, in turn, are dependent upon the technological development and expansion we have outlined. Today's large city rests upon a technological base which is truly a monument to human ingenuity and organizing capacity. It means factories and assembly lines, railroad yards, harbors, warehouses, stores and shops, water systems with chlorinated water, sewage systems and storm sewers, asphalt paving, fire trucks, disposal trucks, snowplows, smoke dampeners, buses, subways, taxis, automobiles, freeways, centralized traffic control, apartment houses, elevators, tall office buildings, paper clips and typewriters, schools, playgrounds, parks, dial telephones, hotels, restaurants, kitchen dish-washers and mixers, frozen foods, and supermarkets—these and many more. And it means all the highways, waterways, railroads, and airways connecting cities with each other and all the communications. These are but a few of the bewildering number of technological advances which urban people take for granted. Yet, without them, urban life as it is known by most Americans today would not be possible.

Urban spatial patterns

The size of modern cities, as we have indicated, depends upon the amount of manufacturing, commercial and other work which is done in a certain location. The locations, in turn, which offer the best transportation possibilities in terms of raw materials, markets, and other individual business considerations, will attract the most activities. We can say "attract," but more basically, it is the businesses and industries which compete for the favored locations. The present size and distribution of America's cities are the consequences of millions of such competitive decisions.

Within cities, a similar competitive process

*Modern railroad yards are a part of the transportation complex upon which industrial, urban living depends. With the aid of electronic switching equipment, the "hump" men at the Robert R. Young yard of the New York Central can direct as many as 3,600 freight cars daily onto any of the seventy-two classification tracks. (Courtesy New York Central System and **Steelways**, published by American Iron and Steel Institute)*

has operated for favored business and industrial locations and for favored residential locations. Despite the general lack of over-all planning, certain similarities have nevertheless appeared in American cities, and sociologists have detected certain patterns of

Illustrating three models of urban spatial patterns. (From Chauncey D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *p. 13, November, 1945)*

city growth. We shall consider the "concentric circle," "sector," and "multiple nuclei" models.

Concentric circle model. The earliest theory, developed by Burgess [1] and based primarily upon his Chicago studies, sees cities as growing outward into a series of concentric-circle zones. The business section is located at the point of highest mobility. In this central location are found the large or highly specialized retail stores, and not far away are hotels, theaters, banks, and similar institutions. Factories and warehouses are usually found along the railroads, truck routes, or waterways which enter the city.

As a city grows and the business section expands, the adjacent residential districts are pushed farther away from the center. Because this transition does not occur suddenly, but extends over a period of years, factories, warehouses, stores, and homes may, for a time, occupy the same few blocks. Houses and apartments are often allowed to remain in a state of disrepair awaiting their conversion to commercial use. Residents who can afford to move to the newer districts farther out, generally do so. They are replaced by those who cannot pay higher rents or those who because of prejudice or social maladjustment are excluded from other areas. This "zone in transition," possesses no consistent character of its own, but holds apart two more homogeneous areas: the commercial and the residential. It tends to become physically deteriorated and socially disorganized, with the highest rates of delinquency, vice, poverty, mobility, and personal disorganization often found there. Of course, such an area may also project itself outward along an industrial canal, railroad tracks, or some other undesirable residential feature.

Beyond the "zone in transition" is a zone of moderately priced "working-men's" dwelling places, followed by a zone of better residences. The outermost circle is the suburban "commuter zone." The concentric zone pattern is, of course, an "ideal type." It is admittedly modified by peculiarities of topography such as hills, rivers, or, in the case of Chicago, by Lake Michigan which permitted the city to expand in little more than half of the 360 degrees. Man-made features such as railroads, highways, zoning ordinances, and street plans were also recognized to modify the basic concentric pattern.

Sector model. From his research on residential rent areas in 142 cities, Homer Hoyt [2] discovered that high-rent areas tended to form wedge-shaped "sectors" radiating outward in one or more directions from the city's center. The sectors, he found, tended to follow certain transportation routes and generally ran in directions which had gained prestige by the residential areas of prominent community leaders.

Multiple nuclei model. According to the multiple nuclei model set forth by Chauncey Harris and Edward Ullman,[3] the city becomes divided into a number of specialized areas. Certain activities require locations at points of greatest accessibility, e.g., retail. Some activities group together (concentrate) because they profit from being together (retail, finance, office). Some activities such as bulk wholesaling, storage and low-class housing cannot afford the high rents of more desirable sites and tend to cluster in low-rent

[1] Ernest W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in Robert E. Park, editor, *The City*, p. 55. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925.

[2] Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*, Federal Housing Administration, 1939.

[3] Chauncey D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, pp. 7–17, November, 1945.

areas. The result can be seen in such nuclei as the central business district, wholesale and light manufacturing districts, heavy industrial areas, residential areas, and minor nuclei which might be described as cultural centers, parks, outlying business districts, small industrial centers, or a university district.

The three models are not mutually exclusive. In most American cities, certain aspects of each theoretical pattern are discernible. The downtown commercial section is universal. Near it, at least on one or more sides, a transitional zone is found. Generally, the better homes are out some distance, but the higher-priced rental sectors are common. And one can find the specialized areas which form the multiple nuclei of the city. Each of the models has some usefulness in research and they are therefore to be seen as complementing rather than contradicting each other.

Ecological processes

Without calling special attention to the fact as we went along, we have, nevertheless, been explaining and illustrating in the foregoing analysis the principal ecological processes, namely: concentration, centralization, decentralization, segregation, invasion, and succession.

First we noticed how the process of *concentration* operates to increase the density of population in areas favorable to man's economic welfare. We next discovered that within those areas *centralization* occurs at points of high mobility, such as the convergence of highways, or the point of transfer between water and land transportation. Communities come into existence around such points of centralization. When the population pressure on a given center becomes too great, the reverse process, decentralization, sets in, creating subcenters and subshopping zones at a distance from the central area of growth.

Within communities there is a tendency toward *segregation* of specialized areas (one area serves as the center of retail selling, and another as a wholesale district or manufacturing center, etc.). Another type of segregation takes place when such groups as the recent immigrant and the Negro, Mexican, or Puerto Rican migrant are separated by social prejudice and low economic status into isolated colonies. There are still other specialized areas, particularly within an urban community: rooming-house districts, apartment house areas, "skid roads" where transient men congregate, bright-light districts, exclusive shopping districts, subbusiness centers, residential suburbs, and industrial suburbs.

Such a functional division of areas is not maintained permanently. There is a constant transition and overlapping.

An area of specialized character may experience an *invasion* from another area. We have noticed how the commercial districts extend into the residential in a rapidly growing community, and there are invasions of other types as well. Negroes may "invade" a previously white area. Apartment houses may invade a single-family dwelling area.

If an invasion is so complete that an area's function and character completely change, then *succession* has taken place. The operation of these five ecological processes—concentration, centralization (and its counterpart, decentralization), segregation, invasion, and succession—is thus observable in the life-history of any large, rapidly growing city and in a somewhat less noticeable manner in smaller communities as well. These terms also describe population changes for an entire region and, in fact, the distribution of people throughout the world.

To aid the student who would like to examine such tools of analysis one by one, the terms may be lifted from their context and defined more specifically:

Concentration is the massing of human beings and human utilities in areas where nature or man has made conditions favorable to the satisfaction of sustenance needs.

Centralization is the integration of human beings and facilities around pivotal points at which social, economic, and cultural interaction occurs most frequently.

Decentralization is the term used to characterize the tendency for human beings and institutional agencies to move away from the center of [concentration] and locate on the outskirts where land values are low and spaces are available.

Segregation is the sifting of like social and population types, as well as industrial and commercial facilities, into specific districts where each unit tends to have the same economic function and competitive strength.

Invasion is the penetration of a segregated area by an institutional function or population group different from the one already there. Invasion always involves a change in land utilization or in population type.

Succession is the end product of an invasion cycle. When an invasion is successful the invaders

completely displace the population or change the usage of the land in the area affected.[1]

Urbanism as a Way of Life

The degree to which the contemporary world may be said to be "urban" is not fully or accurately measured by the proportion of the total population living in cities. . . . the city is not only in ever larger degrees the dwelling-place and the workshop of modern man, but it is the initiating and controlling center of economic, political, and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit. . . .

The technological developments in transportation and communication which virtually mark a new epoch in human history have accentuated the role of cities as dominant elements . . . and have enormously extended the urban mode of living beyond the confines of the city itself. The dominance of the city, especially of the great city, may be regarded as a consequence of the concentration in cities of industrial and commercial, financial and administrative facilities and activities, transportation and communication lines, and cultural and recreational equipment such as the press, radio stations, theatres, libraries, museums, concert halls, operas, hospitals, higher educational institutions, research and publishing centers, professional organizations, and religious and welfare institutions. . . .

A serviceable definition of urbanism should not only denote the essential characteristics which all cities—at least those in our culture—have in common, but should lend itself to the discovery of their variations. An industrial city will differ significantly in social respects from a commercial, mining, fishing, resort, university, and capital city. A one-industry city will present different sets of social characteristics from a multi-industry city, as will . . . a city within a metropolitan region from one lying outside, an old city from a new one, a southern city from a New England, a middle-western from a Pacific Coast city, a growing from a stable and from a dying city.

. . . Presumably some of the characteristics of cities are more significant in conditioning the nature of urban life than others, . . . [And, according to Wirth, these are relatively greater *size, density,* and *heterogeneity*. Wirth then describes some of the consequences of these three factors.]

. . . Large numbers involve . . . a greater range of individual variation. Furthermore, the greater the number of individuals participating in a process of interaction, the greater is the potential differentiation between them. The personal traits, the occupations, the cultural life, and the ideas of the members of an urban community may, therefore, be expected to range between more widely separated poles than those of rural inhabitants. . . .

That such variations should give rise to the spatial segregation of individuals according to color, ethnic heritage, economic and social status, tastes and preferences, may readily be inferred. The bonds of kinship, of neighborliness, and the sentiments arising out of living together for generations under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent or, at best, relatively weak . . . Under such circumstances competition and formal control mechanisms furnish the substitutes for the bonds of solidarity that are relied upon to hold a folk society together.

Increase in the number of inhabitants of a community beyond a few hundred is bound to limit the possibility of each member of the community knowing all the others personally. . . . . [Hence there is a] segmentalization of human relationships . . . This is not to say that urban inhabitants have fewer acquaintances than rural inhabitants, for the reverse may actually be true; it means rather that in relation to the number of people whom they see and with whom they rub elbows in the course of daily life, they know a small proportion, and of these they have less intensive knowledge.

. . . They are, to be sure, dependent upon more people for the satisfactions of their life-needs than are rural people . . . but they are less dependent upon particular persons, and their dependence upon others is confined to a highly fractionized aspect of the other's round of activity. This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts. The contacts of the city may indeed be face to face, but they are never-

[1] Taken (with illustrations omitted) from A. B. Hollingshead, "Ecological Organization," in *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, edited by Alfred McClung Lee, pp. 88–89, Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York, 1946, which in turn is an adaptation of the analysis of ecological processes originally appearing in R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," in Ernest W. Burgess, *The Urban Community*, pp. 167–182, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1926. (The word "concentration" in the bracket—which is ours—was substituted for the author's term, "the city," so that the definition would not be limited by urban reference.)

"Urbanism as a Way of Life" is a series of selections from Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, pp. 1–24, July, 1938. Copyright (1938) by the University of Chicago Press.

theless impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. The reserve, the indifference, and the blasé outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others.

. . . Whereas, therefore, the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. . . .

The segmental character and utilitarian accent of interpersonal relations in the city find their institutional expression in the proliferation of specialized tasks which we see in their most developed form in the professions. The operations of the pecuniary nexus lead to predatory relationships, which tend to obstruct the efficient functioning of the social order unless checked by professional codes and occupational etiquette. . . .

In a community composed of a larger number of individuals than can know one another intimately [or] be assembled in one spot, it becomes necessary to communicate through indirect media and to articulate individual interests by a process of delegation. . . .

. . . The urban world puts a premium on visual recognition. We see the uniform which denotes the role of the functionaries and are oblivious to the personal eccentricities that are hidden behind the uniform. We tend to acquire and develop a sensitivity to a world of artifacts and become progressively farther removed from the world of nature.

We are exposed to glaring contrasts between splendor and squalor, . . . intelligence and ignorance, order and chaos. . . .

Density, land values, rentals, accessibility, healthfulness, prestige, aesthetic considerations, absence of nuisances such as noise, smoke, and dirt determine the desirability of various areas of the city. . . . Place and nature of work, income, racial and ethnic characteristics, social status, custom, habit, taste, preference, and prejudice are among the significant factors in accordance with which the urban population is selected and distributed into more or less distinct settlements. Diverse population elements inhabitating a compact settlement thus tend to become segregated from one another in the degree in which their requirements and modes of life are incompatible with one another and in the measure in which they are antagonistic to one another. Similarly, persons of homogeneous status and needs unwittingly drift into, consciously select, or are forced by circumstances into, the same area. The different parts of the city thus acquire specialized functions. The city consequently tends to resemble a mosaic of social worlds in which the transition from one to the other is abrupt. The juxtaposition of divergent personalities and modes of life tends to produce a relativistic perspective and a sense of toleration of difference which may be regarded as prerequisites for rationality and which lead toward the secularization of life.

. . . Without rigid adherence to predictable routines a large compact society would scarcely be able to maintain itself. The clock and the traffic signal are symbolic of the basis of our social order in the urban world. Frequent close physical contact, coupled with great social distance, accentuates the reserve of unattached individuals toward one another and, unless compensated for by other opportunities for response, gives rise to loneliness. The necessary frequent movement of great numbers of individuals in a congested habitat gives occasion to friction and irritation. Nervous tensions which derive from such personal frustration are accentuated by the rapid tempo and the complicated technology under which life in dense areas must be lived.

* * *

In the preceding article, from which we have made selections, Wirth described urbanism as he saw it. Despite his attempt to separate the universal characteristics of cities from those of a given culture, time, and place, Wirth did not entirely escape reflecting the conditions of the large cities of the United States in 1938 and some of his personal reactions to them. Nevertheless, his article stands as a classic and highly insightful description of "urbanism as a way of life."

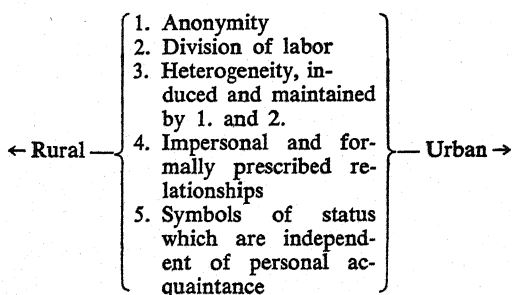
The rural-urban continuum

Rural and urban have been troublesome terms for sociologists. For one thing, census distinctions have introduced complications. There has also been difficulty in settling upon the characteristics by which rural and urban are to be distinguished. Furthermore, the diffusion of rural ways into the city and the even greater diffusion of urban ways into

the "rural" communities, had made it impossible to draw the clear-cut lines for a satisfactory dichotomy. This has led to the concept of a *rural-urban continuum.*

If we avoid the idea that all allegedly urban characteristics constitute a "continuous gradation," [1] the continuum concept has utility in communicating the notion that there are no sharp breaking points to be found in the quantity or degree of any of the rural-urban differences.

If we take the further step of separating the factors which are not the consequence of cultural or historical uniqueness but solely of size and density, the continuum concept becomes even more useful. Thus, Richard Dewey, after screening out all "culture-bound" references in Wirth's previously quoted article, concluded:

> . . . Evidence seems to support Wirth's observations that variations in size and density of population induce concomitant variations in five qualities:
>
> ← Rural —
> 1. Anonymity
> 2. Division of labor
> 3. Heterogeneity, induced and maintained by 1. and 2.
> 4. Impersonal and formally prescribed relationships
> 5. Symbols of status which are independent of personal acquaintance
>
> — Urban →
>
> [Rural and urban are thus seen as] . . . the extremes of the continuum defined by the five items.[2]

Thus the five qualities are to be understood as originating with, and being due to, the increase in size and density of community population. But having so originated, the characteristics can be diffused, and have been diffused, in varying degrees to smaller communities and even the "open country." Today, a small college town, or a small industrial community requiring highly trained physicists, mathematicians, or engineers will exhibit more of the urban characteristics than some larger places. Conversely, there are areas in some of the largest cities, Mexico City, for example, in which the degree of urbanization is very low. Dewey's final conclusion that the rural-urban continuum is "real but relatively unimportant" rests upon the observation that the increasing urbanization of almost all American life has minimized rural-urban differences, and will lessen the differences even more in the future.

Suburbia and the surburban way of life

Suburbia

With the spectacular growth of suburbs, noted at the beginning of the chapter, a new interest in the phenomenon of suburbia has developed. While there has been reference made to "industrial suburbs"—communities within the general suburban area which are primarily production centers and places of employment—the typical suburb is primarily a residential community most of whose workers are employed in the city. In fact, it has been suggested by Walter Martin and elaborated by Leo Schnore [3] that the term *satellite city* be used to designate all communities near large urban centers which are essentially employing communities, and to reserve the term suburb exclusively for the predominantly residential type.

Accordingly, we can follow Robert C. Wood in his compact characterization of suburbs and suburbanites:

> Strictly speaking, suburbs are places and suburbanites are people. Even more strictly speaking, suburbs are places in the country immediately outside a city and suburbanites are the inhabitants of that country. Suburbs depend upon the special technological advances of the age; the automobile and rapid transit line, asphalt pavement, delivery trucks, septic tanks, water mains, and motor-driven pumps. Suburbanites have habits which distinguish them more or less sharply from other Americans: they are commuters, they tend to own their own homes, which have at least some access to open space, and they have more children than the average American family.[4]

1 Otis Dudley Duncan, for example, has pointed out that many allegedly urban characteristics such as small family size, a low sex ratio, and high residential mobility do not correlate with increasing size; but that density, a higher per cent of white collar workers, more persons with better educations and incomes, and a lower fertility rate do correlate with increasing size. See his "Community Size and the Rural-urban Continuum" in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., editors, *Cities and Society,* pp. 35–45, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.

2 Richard Dewey, "The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant," *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 61, p. 65, July, 1960. Copyright (1938) by the University of Chicago Press. Reprinted by permission.

3 Walter T. Martin, "The Structuring of Social Relationships Engendered by Suburban Residence," *American Sociological Review,* vol. 21, pp. 446–453, August, 1956; Leo F. Schnore, "Satellites and Suburbs," *Social Forces,* vol. 36, pp. 121–129, December, 1957.

4 Robert C. Wood, *Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics,* p. 3. Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston, 1959. Reprinted by permission.

The growth of suburbia

For several decades, the suburban trend has been noted. The Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area,[1] defined in county terms, does not coincide with the city and its actual suburban area, but it has provided some clue to the suburban growth. In the 1940–50 period, 80 per cent of the decade's growth in the United States took place in the Standard Metropolitan Areas,[2] and most of it occurred outside of the central cities. In fact, almost 50 per cent of the total 1940–50 growth was recorded in the outer parts of the 168 Standard Metropolitan Areas.

The suburban increase during the 1950–60 period was even more pronounced. The 1960 census revealed that 84 per cent of the decade's growth had taken place in the 212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and that 76 per cent of this SMSA growth had occurred outside the central cities. By 1960, about 62 per cent of all Americans were living in SMSA's, and about 30 per cent were living in SMSA's outside the central cities.

Why the suburban trend?

Ernest R. Mowrer has pointed out that the post-World War II suburban growth has been facilitated by two main factors: the general prosperity and especially the establishment of the Federal Housing Administration. F.H.A. guarantee of mortgages, lower down payments, and longer periods of amortization brought home ownership within the reach of millions who would have been unable to finance a home under older down-payment and credit conditions. But prosperity and the chance of home ownership only facilitated, they did not motivate, the suburban trend. The motivation has been provided in large part by what Mowrer has called the "suburban vision."

In Mowrer's study of the northern and northwest suburbs of Chicago, interviewees were asked why they had moved to the suburb. Leading the list of reasons given was the belief that the suburb offered a better place for rearing children. But Mowrer noted that what seemed to be better for children applied to adults as well: space, fresh air, quiet, a place for pets, more friendly contacts, etc.

> The most common reason given . . . is that here is a better place in which to rear children. But when [the suburbanite] is asked to explain why suburbia is a better place in which to rear children, the reasons he gives apply equally as well to himself as to his child. Fresh air and sunshine, cultural opportunities, absence of disturbing noises, more spacious homes, more friendly contacts, place for pets, etc., are attributes which recognize no age differentials. Likewise less crowded conditions with more space for play are less restrictive of adult as well as of child behavior.[3]

At another point, Mowrer describes additional attractions of the "suburban vision."

> . . . the wearing of casual clothes . . . the outdoor dining; the cultivation of flowers; the manicuring of lawns and shrubs; the breeding of pets; all of these and many more pay psychological dividends, in the form of individual achievement, pride in ownership and workmanship, and community approval and admiration. Added to these are the social assets of more intimate associations with neighbors; the pleasures of gossip, and of neighborhood visiting. The net result is to glamorize life in the suburbs as a place of retreat from the threats and frustrations of urban living, and where the Hollywood picture of family life in a hacienda can be realized.[4]

Harlan Paul Douglass once described the suburb as "the city trying to escape the consequences of being a city."[5] Put in terms of the rural-urban continuum, the suburban trend is motivated in large part by the desire to move away from the extremes of density and of the consequent anonymity and impersonality. The suburb offers room to move around in, a social environment where contacts are more personal, where neighborliness and community participation come more easily. In the suburb, single-family dwellings, home ownership, and local government offer the possibilities of more control over the family environment. The suburban vision offers these and more, but it is no return to the rural extreme of the continuum. Suburbanites are urban in their basic orientation. They are

[1] Except in New England, a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) is defined as a county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more or "twin cities" with a combined population of at least 50,000. In addition to the county or counties, containing such a city or cities, contiguous counties are included in an SMSA if, according to certain criteria, they are essentially metropolitan in character and are socially and economically integrated with the central city.

[2] A 1950 Standard Metropolitan Area (SMA) was approximately the same as the 1960 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). In both cases, definitions were in terms of counties. But in 1959, the precise criteria for delineating SMA's were revised by the Bureau of the Budget, and the SMSA term adopted.

[3] Ernest R. Mowrer, "The Family in Suburbia," in William M. Dobriner, editor, *The Suburban Community*, p. 157. G. B. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1958. Reprinted by permission.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 153. Reprinted by permission.

[5] Harlan Paul Douglass, *The Suburban Trend*, p. 4, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1925.

integrated into the city's complex division of labor. They enjoy the city's "cultural" opportunities. Isolated small town life would distress them. But they also want the advantages which the relatively small community just outside the city offers for roomy, family-centered, and less impersonal living. Suburbanites are undauntedly committed to the pursuit of the best of both worlds.

Problems of the metropolitan community

Reorganization lag

The development of large metropolitan areas has been occurring so rapidly that it has been difficult to keep up with the necessary readjustments. Which is to say that many of the problems can be described in terms of cultural lag.

As early as 1937, the National Resources Committee emphasized the lag in governmental reorganization to fit the needs of the larger urban community. The committee first observed that the metropolitan area had indeed become a community:

> In their daily or periodic contacts, the inhabitants of the metropolitan region, irrespective of municipal, township, county, State, or even national lines, are bound together into a community through industry, public utilities, social and cultural institutions, an interdependent system of transportation and communication, the newspaper, radio, telephone, and postal service, . . . The greatest obstacle to the full emergence of a metropolitan community is the great number of conflicting and overlapping political and administrative units into which the area is divided. . . . [At that time, the New York area had 272 separately incorporated communities, Chicago had 115, not to speak of] . . . their overlayers of counties, townships, school districts, sanitary districts, park districts, forest preserve districts, street lighting districts, utility districts, water districts, and even mosquito-abatement districts . . .
>
> . . . If an orderly development and a higher level of life for the people of the imposing supercities are to be attained, some measures calculated to endow them with the capacity to act collectively as a political unit are indispensable.[1]

Today, it is even more apparent than it was in 1937 that a metropolitan-wide approach is a prerequisite for solving many of the total area's problems. Since 1937, as we have noted, suburbs have experienced a dramatic growth. In addition, there has been a considerable deconcentration of industry, with many plants scattered along the highways and in the satellite communities of the city's outlying areas. The new and growing suburbs, the new industries, and the vastly increased population have greatly accentuated the problems calling for a metropolitan-wide attack. From the many problems, we select two of the most critical: taxation and transportation.

Taxation problems

The outward growth of cities, while never free of problems, can be met as long as the area involved remains under one municipal government. The wealth of the entire community can then be taxed for the benefit of the entire urban area. But when huge numbers and many industries spill over the city's borders into the suburbs, a large proportion of the taxable wealth becomes unavailable to the central city. The central city, however, not only continues to be used by the suburbanites but the costs of providing the central services for a greatly enlarged metropolitan community are increased. The cost of providing for auto and truck transportation is an enormous increase by itself. At the same time, a rising standard of living and a rising standard of social and civic services, have also increased the demands upon the central city. All this has put a financial strain upon cities. A tax increase becomes inevitable. But, the more the city taxes itself to provide the transportation and other services for the bulging metropolitan area, the greater and speedier is the exit to suburbia. This constant drainage of taxable wealth, the lowering of inner city property values, plus the concomitant loss of civic concern to the suburbs, serve to compound the inner city's problems as it tries to serve a growing metropolitan community.

Of course, the suburbs themselves have taxation problems. They must tax or assess themselves for the paving, sewers, utilities, fire and police protection which in a new or rapidly expanding suburb can represent large and continuing outlays of tax money. Even more of a problem is the provision of schools. As we have noted, the suburbs have proportionately more children. They also generally have higher educational standards. When rapid growth is added to these factors, it is clear that the educational claim on tax dollars becomes very substantial.

[1] *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy*, pp. 16–17, National Resources Committee, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937.

But the above are merely the local tax problems. Suburbanites have expectations which transcend their local capacity to provide. If the community is small, some of these can be met by co-operation with nearby communities in such matters, for example, as providing a high school, or mosquito abatement, or perhaps even such basic services as fire protection, library facilities, and utilities. But even the large suburbs which can provide for all such services are powerless to provide for themselves transportation and other services which only the total metropolitan area—the central city and all its suburbs—can provide. We are back to the fact that the metropolitan area is a community of *inter*dependent communities, but with a political and tax structure which is still geared, to a large extent, to the concept of independent communities.

Transportation problems

As was stated earlier, large city populations require adequate transportation to take workers from their places of residence to their places of work, and to facilitate the use of the city's centralized services. Rapid public transportation was developed to meet the need.

But with the coming of the automobile and the motor truck, a new transportation factor was introduced which gradually but acceleratingly has precipitated a transportation crisis. For one thing, automobiles increased the suburban trend. Suburban living generally increased the distance between place of residence and work. The convenience of automobile driving led to its increased use for commuting. With a growing percentage of the fast growing population using automobiles for commuting, the number of cars and the number of commuter-miles driven has continued its sharp rise. Meanwhile, public transit, often in private hands, has been faced with a steadily worsening financial dilemma. With rising costs and dwindling traffic, companies have tried to survive through raising fares and reducing the number of runs. But each fare increase and each cut in service has driven more persons to the automobile. What has happened is that, for a burgeoning portion of the American urban population, the automobile has replaced public transit as the basic form of mass transportation.

Fundamentally, however, the use of the automobile for mass transportation to a city's center is impractical. Victor Gruen, a city planner, has likened the auto traffic flow into a city center to a river system accumulating volume from tributaries in every direction. But no matter how wide or how many the freeways into the city's center, there is not enough room downtown to receive the accumulated traffic flow.[1]

Perhaps more can be done to increase the downtown or near-downtown accommodation for automobiles, but not enough to permit all commuters and downtown shoppers to travel in their own cars. The large city's continuing need for public transportation is agreed upon. Chicago has recognized this by requiring all freeways built within the city limits to allow space between the two roadways for the use of rapid transit. Philadelphia has met the tendency of commuter railroads to raise fares and cut services with a city-guaranteed minimum income for the railroads provided that they lower their fares and improve their services. The immediate increase in the use of commuter trains shows that the trend to the automobile can be reversed by such a measure, at least in the largest cities.

Even Los Angeles, which has made the most valiant attempt of any large city to accommodate to the automobile as mass transportation, has come to see it as a losing game and is turning serious attention to the development of a comprehensive rapid transit system. It faces unusual difficulties, however, and Alvin Scaff has put his finger on one of the main reasons:

> . . . So long as the bulk of commuting is to a central area, rail lines can be built from the suburbs to a central terminal. When, in addition, industrial plants are decentralized, the problem of providing public transportation facilities becomes a virtual impossibility. No two people, so to speak, travel the same route. Much of the traffic congestion in urban areas, especially in Los Angeles, is a result of the cross traffic created by the fact that living and working areas are spread at random through the metropolitan area. A large percentage of the cars using the downtown freeway net in Los Angeles during the rush hours are neither coming from nor going to the downtown area. They are simply passing through.[2]

Each metropolitan area has its own peculiar transportation problems. But in the

[1] Victor Gruen interview with the editors of *U. S. News & World Report*, (June 20, 1960). Copyright 1960, United States Publishing Corporation.

[2] Alvin H. Scaff, "Urban Trends—Editor's Introduction," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, vol. 28, p. 8, Winter, 1958. Reprinted by permission.

majority of cities, we find deteriorating public transit services and an increasingly critical glut of automobiles and trucks, making transportation the number one headache as felt by metropolitan dwellers.

The way out

The situation, while critical, is not hopeless. There are visible signs of interest and movement toward the two directions which offer most hope: planning and a metropolitan-wide approach.

For the most part, in the past, city patterns have emerged not by plan but from a multitude of individual decisions. The ecological processes at work were not well understood, nor well controlled. Today, the processes are quite well understood and the need for planning—and planning on a metropolitan-wide basis—is increasingly recognized.

Planning is being undertaken to allocate the various use-areas of the metropolitan community, such as residential, commercial and industrial. It is recognized that unplanned, random distribution in the era of motor transportation leads but to chaos. But it has also been recognized that planning should take into account the governmental, educational, recreational, religious, health and social service needs of the entire metropolitan community.

Within cities, private and public agencies have concentrated upon planning ways of rehabilitating blighted areas. "Urban redevelopment" has come into the vocabulary and has become a fact in cities such as Pittsburgh, Chicago, New Haven, and Rochester where blocks of shabby buildings have been torn down and replaced by modern structures.

In downtown areas where buildings have been going up and up, the idea of "horizontal design" is gaining ground. That is, it is recognized that vertical construction can go only so far before traffic congestion becomes acute, and that the uncontrolled building of skyscrapers without an adequate transportation plan must give way to a controlled co-ordination of the two.

The placement of factories and industrial areas so that workers can get to and from their places of employment is an important part of an adequate planning process. The same is true of shopping centers, for people also drive to do their shopping. Planning commissions tend to inhibit the random, competitive placement of these merchandizing outlets unless their location can be shown to be compatible with the needs of the total area.

Similarly, the building of freeways, rapid transit lines, and other facilities associated with mass transportation is coming under metropolitan-wide planning. And it is being suggested that more than an engineering point of view is required. Transportation is not the end for which cities exist, but the means by which its many functions can be facilitated.

To make planning effective—or even to authorize it on a metropolitan basis—requires a capacity for the many communities to act collectively. And there are increasing evidences of new and ingenious ways by which governmental co-operation is being achieved. The authorities and specific administrations which have been created for the meeting of metropolitan-wide problems with a metropolitan-wide approach are most notable.[1]

There is still lag, of course. In a changing social situation, lag appears to be inevitable. And in a rapidly changing situation, lag can be severe. Equally noteworthy to the sociologist, however, is the human tendency to overcome lag. With so many citizens now living in metropolitan areas, it is safe to predict that a continuing, valiant effort will be made to solve their common larger community problems.

[1] In Canada, both Toronto and Winnipeg have "metropolitan governments." In the Winnipeg area, an elected 10-member council assumed the following responsibilities in 1960: planning, public transport, public assessment for tax purposes, water supply and sewage disposal, garbage disposal, principal streets including bridges and subways, and mosquito control. Later on, the "Metro" government is expected to take over control of parks of more than 15 acres, diking and flood control, civil defense, weed control and protection of rivers and streams.

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Part VI

Social Institutions

Chapter 17

Familial Institutions

THREE TYPES OF AMERICAN FAMILY

An Ozark Highland Family

This Ozark Highland family on an owner-operated farm of 375 acres is probably the most prosperous family in the region from the standpoint of wealth. The farm is located half a mile from Horseneck, in Izard County, Arkansas. . . . The family buys much of its groceries, clothing, furniture and household equipment at Horseneck. Here also are located the doctor, the bank, the high school, and the church. The nearest railroad is at Lovetown, eight miles away. The one-half mile road to Horseneck is a clay mountain trail, but the remainder to Lovetown is gravel. A member of the family goes to town twice a month in the summer and once a month in the winter.

This family at home consists of husband (Elbert) and wife (Fannie), five children, a son-in-law, and a granddaughter, nine members in all. Three daughters are married and are living on nearby farms. . . .

The family is very proud of its name and reputation. All the children have been taught from childhood to respect parental authority—to obey without question and adhere rigidly to the moral code of the community. The girls are early taught to beware of seducers of young women and the boys are schooled in the protection of women's honor. The virtues of honesty, frugality, justice and kindness are the chief objects of parental instruction. . . . The children are taught to respect the home, and are warned against the "furriners" who would lead them astray, or who make fun of things sacred to them. . . .

The children are devoted to the home. This fact accounts in a large measure for the success with which this Highland father has kept the family unified. . . . Elbert's virtues of thrift and hard work and his strong religious belief have been the controls of conduct for parents and children alike.

For many years Elbert and Fannie had no time for any sort of formal recreation. . . . The only social and recreational activities of that period were a few "hawg-killins," an occasional political meeting, or funerals. Until five years ago they had never been out of the township, but since that time have gone to Batesville to a farm meeting. . . . Last year the family attended one 4-H club meeting at Horseneck and two church socials. The parents have never seen a movie nor heard a radio. . . .

All the members of the family share in the work of the farm, including the cultivation of the fields, the management of the barn and chores, and special tasks about the farm.

The work of the husband regularly includes the feeding and care of the horse and all other stock, the repairing of buildings and machinery, the cutting of wood for home use, work in the fields, and taking of produce to market.

The women and girls do the milking, feed and care for the poultry and small barnyard stock, take care of the garden and attend to the regular household duties, such as housecleaning, preparation of the food, and care of the children. During the season of planting and cultivation, the women also take an active part in the work in the fields. . . .

During the summer the wife begins work in the morning at 4 A.M. and ends at 8 P.M. In the winter she begins at 5 A.M. and finishes at 7 P.M. Elbert begins work in the summer at 4 A.M. and stops at 7 P.M. The other members of the family including the children follow the general routine of the parents.

"An Ozark Highland Family" (the heading is ours) is reprinted by courtesy of the publishers, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., from *Family and Society*, pp. 221–230, by Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle F. Frampton, 1935.

* * *

An Urban Apartment Family

We now live in an apartment-house district in an old-fashioned but roomy apartment. Our daughter is nineteen. She attends college and

"An Urban Apartment Family" (the heading is ours) is from Paul R. Conway, *The Apartment House Dweller*, p. 151–52. M. A., Thesis, University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, 1926. Reprinted by permission of the author.

walks home (over three miles) from school. Our boy is sixteen and goes to high school; he walks to and from school. We do not keep a maid. I am up at 7:00 in the morning in order to prepare the breakfast for the family. The son eats at 7:45, the rest of the family at 8:15. No one but myself is home for lunch. At 6 o'clock the family reunites for dinner, and that is an occasion for the interchange of daily experiences. In the evening the young people do their home assignments. My husband (a physician) goes back to his office after dinner; he returns about 8:30. The rest of the evening we devote to our respective reading.

I attend to the household duties; I do not market by telephone. I have an efficient laundress; my work is systematized so that I have enough leisure for outside activities. I have several club affiliations and attend the meetings and lecture programs.

Ours is not a patriarchal family: we do not lay down any rigid rules or regulations for the children. Our family circle is analogous to a democracy rather than a dictatorship. The children come to us for advice and consultation; our son and his father are good pals.

On week-end evenings we go to the theatre, the symphony concerts, or the movies when they have civilized entertainment to offer. When our children were younger, we sent them to camps in the summer. In seasonable weather we go on picnics and spend much time on the beach.

Our circle of friends is composed of those whose outlook on life is somewhat similar to ours and who have interests in common with us. We do not play cards in our group. When we have a gathering at the house, we talk of current events, occasionally someone reads, then we serve, and I notice that at the table our spirits are highly stimulated.

We are not members of a church. On Sunday morning we either lounge or read or attend a forum or sermon if the subject matter announced is of particular interest to us.

Thus life rolls on smoothly; occasionally there is a ripple, a cloud on the horizon, even a storm, but like the natural elements, it, too, blows over and the current resumes its regular course. I am not convinced of the much heralded wholesome influence of the great open spaces. The throb and thrill of the metropolis, its music, the cultural advantages it has to offer, do they not add a cheerful tone and rosy color to this business of living?

* * *

On Being a "Successful" Father

I fear I haven't done so well as a father. If there is any way you can think of in which I could become a real part of my family at this late date, I would appreciate your telling me. I'll give anything a trial.

I started out to be an ideal husband and father —namely, to give my family every luxury possible, and to make life as easy for them as possible. My plan was to build up real security for all of them and then settle down and enjoy the fruits of my labor. I succeeded in one respect. My children have gone to the finest schools and vacation resorts; they and their mother have had a beautiful home, well staffed with servants.

Now I am ready to retire and enjoy my family, but I find that I don't know them and they are all busy with their own interests. My wife has her clubs and charities, my oldest daughter is married and has a family, my son has an absorbing profession, and the twin girl babies are young women almost and don't seem to take at all to my attempts to become interested in their activities and their friends.

Perhaps I got my values all twisted in the beginning; perhaps I should have given my family fewer luxuries and more of myself. . . .

* * *

Here are pictures of quite diverse types of family life. Yet, all three are families within one society.[1] Such wide variation in pattern causes some commentators to say that the American family is in a state of disorganization. If you want to cite the family as the basic American institution, hurry and do it before the institution disappears! Other observers, who also note the variations and drastic social changes affecting the family, are not as alarmed. Through faith or scientific prediction or both, they think the family is here to stay. They continue to refer to it as society's basic social institution.

A social institution is complex, it is patterned, it is normative, it is related to the recurrent needs of the people. Still more obtuse

"On Being a 'Successful' Father" (the heading is ours) is from Gladys Hoagland Groves, *Marriage and Family Life*, p. 26, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1942. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[1] To complicate the variability still more, note the description of tribal societies, including their family life, presented at the beginning of Chapters Two, Three, and Six.

Table 17.1 Changing Characteristics of the American Family

The Nineteenth-Century Family	The Family Today in Urban Areas
Patriarchal and authoritarian	Tending to become *individualistic and democratic,* but with many patriarchal survivals
Stable, little divorce	*Much less stable,* much more frequent divorce
Relatively large size; many children and relatives under the same roof	*Smaller in size;* a two-generation group only
Nonmobile; family domicile rarely changed	*Mobility greatly increased;* domicile frequently changed
Women in the home, engaged in housekeeping and child rearing	*Women frequently work outside the home*
Puritanical on sex matters; tabus on feminine sexuality, "double standard" of morality, little planned sex education, adultery infrequent	*Increasingly liberal on sex matters;* feminine sex needs admitted, tendency toward single standard of sex morality, formal sex education, increasing extramarital sex freedom
Relative homogeneity in family type	*Greater variability* in family type
Multifunctional	*Procreation and personality functions* the only major ones surviving

words can be used. Most definitions of the concept approach the term round about, not directly. Anything this difficult to define must be nonexistent or very important! We go along with the latter view.

Every society has values it holds most important, and, not surprisingly, much of the group life is organized around them. This goes on from one generation to another. Gradually, there emerge folkways, mores, and other patterned ways of behaving which channel and regulate the group's activities.

Again, an institution is a complex, relatively permanent, and firmly maintained societal way of behaving toward the preservation and enhancement of the basic values. More briefly, an institution is a complex of normative expectations.

Both values and their supporting institutions vary with different societies and with subcultures within a society. Also, they change through time. There are a few, though, which are found nearly everywhere and in all times.

Almost no argument is needed to place the family at the top of the list. Biologically, the human child is born dependent. Some kind of parent-child relationship is inevitable if he is to survive. His emotional needs are soon observed to be as urgent as his need of food. Then, to survive in a larger world, the child has to learn what is expected of him. Here, too, the family is the cultural mediator. Williams states the obvious when he says:

> A society is perpetuated only by new births, and the prolonged human infancy requires extended adult care—the central fact of all kinship systems[1] . . .
>
> Some kind of institutionalized *family group* is found in all societies and is fundamental to their social systems.[2]

In a bold experiment of removing children from parents at an early age, Communist China is entrusting their socialization to nursery schools and other nonfamily groups. Having already modified a similar effort, Communist Russia has reverted to the family as one of its basic social units.

In this chapter we propose to examine the family from the point of view of its relation to general social organization. What are the structure and the function of the family group as we find them in modern society? Who comprises the American family group? What does family membership do for them, and what do they as a family group do for society?

The changing family pattern

The minute we focus attention on the modern family pattern we discover that our picture is going to be blurred, not only because of our yet inadequate technique of observation but even more because the pattern itself is undergoing rapid change. The family mores are in a state of flux. The change from an old and toward a new set of family norms does not proceed at the same pace in all parts of the country or in all social classes or occupational groups.[3] The family system in the Ozarks, as described in the first case document at the beginning of this chapter, differs from the middle-class urban apartment

[1] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Reprinted by permission.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 39. Reprinted by permission.

[3] *See* E. Gartly Jaco and Ivan Belknap, "Is a New Family Form Emerging in the Urban Fringe?" *American Sociological Review*, vol. 18, pp. 551–557, Oct., 1953.

family in the second and the upper-class family in the third. These in turn differ from the family pattern of Greenwich Village or of Hollywood.

Perhaps the changes that have taken place may be attributed largely to increasing urbanization, but how far the logic of metropolitan life is to be carried it is impossible to tell. Certain tendencies have already manifested themselves. These trends have been summarized in short phrases in the chart on page 238. We can expand a bit on this summary in order to get a partial picture of the changing pattern of modern family life.

The decline of patriarchal authority

The husband and father has traditionally been the head of the American household and the wielder of authority. The rights of the wife and children were in law clearly subordinate to his rights. He was in control of his wife's antenuptial property as well as all property acquired subsequent to the marriage. His was the guardianship of the children and their earnings, and the earnings of his wife went into his pocket. Both wife and children must live in the domicile he chose for them and depend upon him for "support."

These conditions have changed greatly. One justice, lamenting the passing of the good old days, describes the new status of the wife thus:

> The foundations hitherto deemed so essential for the preservation of the nuptial contract, and the maintenance of the marriage relation, are crumbling. The unity of husband and wife has been severed. . . . She no longer clings to and depends upon man, but has the legal right and aspires to battle with him in the contests of the forum; to outvie him in the healing art; to climb with him the steps of fame; and to share with him in every occupation. . . . His legal supremacy is gone, and the sceptre has departed from him.[1]

The last phrase is not strictly true since the husband still retains some of his old prerogatives, but he is now a constitutional monarch, not an absolute one. The wife can make separate contracts, she "retains for her enjoyment the property which she brings to the marriage and the property which she acquires thereafter,"[2] and in general she has the right to control and manage it. She retains her earnings for services rendered outside the household to persons other than the husband, in all but two American jurisdictions.[3] In forty-two states the two parents are given equal rights in the custody of children.[4]

While the legal status of husband and wife does not always reflect accurately the actual situation in any single family, the modifications that have been made in the laws do fairly indicate the *trend* of change in family relations. The modern woman expects and usually obtains a greater voice in family decisions than did her mother or her grandmother.

However, only in a relatively few instances has the democratic family ideal been completely put into practice. The patriarchal tradition survives in a multitude of ways and is accepted as desirable by the woman who still wants to marry a "strong" man and by the man whose standing among other men still depends, or at least so he thinks, upon assuming a dominant and authoritative role in the household.

A change in family stability

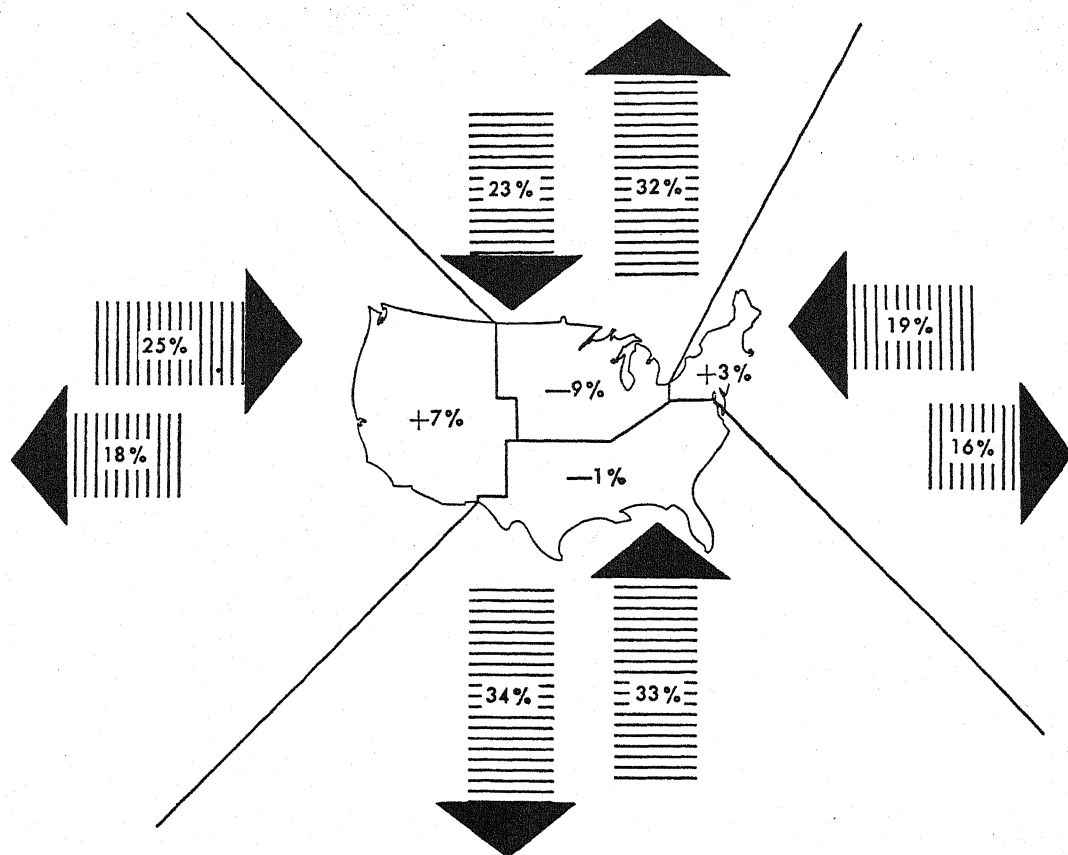
The Ozark family described earlier is almost certain to persist as a social unit as long as Elbert and Fannie survive. Even on their death the household will continue to function as the eldest son and his wife take over the reins. Such stability of family life characterized our Colonial ancestors generally but is found much less often today. Families are more frequently on the move now, there is more temporary renting of homes or apartments, and only seldom are three generations (as in Elbert's family) under one roof. The ideal of a family mansion, persisting through generations as a home for a son and then for one of his sons, as a symbol of family ties and loyalties, scarcely exists today. The modern urban dwelling place is often a place "to hang one's hat" temporarily. One hopes to move on and upward to a "permanent" home with more bathrooms and garage space as soon as possible. *Children in a Changing World,* prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, has this to say about the mobility of families with special reference to the children involved:

> In March 1958 nearly 3 million people, including about 1 million children between the ages of 1 and 17, had moved from one of the main geographical

[1] Justice Thornton in *Martin v. Robson* 65 Ill. 129 (1872); quoted in Chester G. Vernier, *American Family Laws,* vol. 3, p. 3, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 1935.

[2] Vernier, *op. cit.,* vol. 3, p. 10.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.,* vol. 4, p. 4.

(Taken from "Children in a Changing World," prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth)

areas of the United States to another within the preceding 12 months. Another 2 million children had moved from one state to another in the same region, and 2 million more from one county to another in the same state. Altogether, 12 million children moved, at least from one house to another. For most of them the move meant changes in friends, schools, and other surroundings.

Mobility rates were higher for the non-white population than for the white; about one-fourth of the non-white population moved as compared with one-fifth of the white population. People living in rural non-farm areas were more mobile than people living in rural farm areas or in urban areas. About 16 per cent of the people living in central cities of standard metropolitan areas had moved within the same county during the year. People moving into these central cities, on the other hand, were just as likely to have come from another state as from areas within the same state.[1]

[1] Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *Children in a Changing World*, p. 7, White House Conference on Children and Youth, Washington, D. C., 1960. Reprinted by permission of the National Committee for Children and Youth, copyright holder.

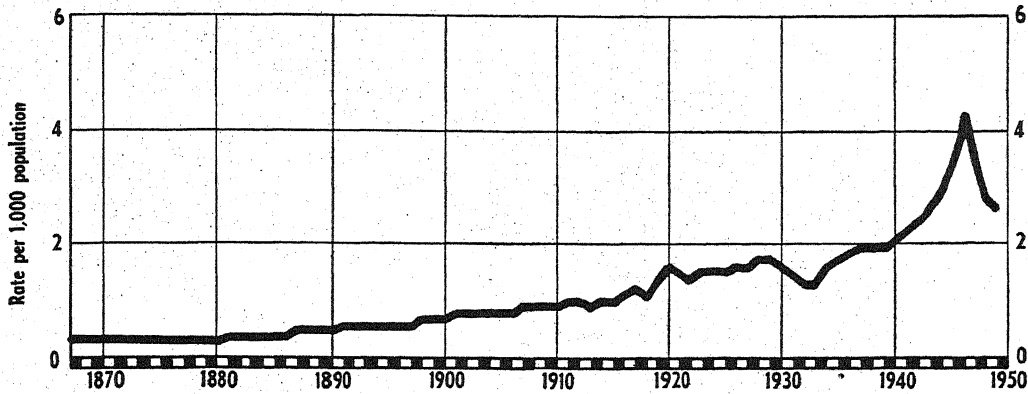
The chart on this page taken from the same publication shows the percentage of movement into and out of major regions during a twelve-month period and also indicates the net gain or loss in population for that region.

In spite of statistics on mobility, there has been a reassuring increase in home ownership, which has now hit an all-time high.

In 1890 about 66 per cent of the people living on farms and 37 per cent of the people living elsewhere owned their own homes. In 1956 about 70 per cent of the people living on farms and 59 per cent of the others owned their homes.[2]

Movement of families from one location to another cannot be taken in itself as a sign of instability. Also, we have just shown that there is an increase in home ownership, which is usually regarded as an indication of stability.

A more direct index of family instability is the divorce rate. Whereas in 1890 there were

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9. Reprinted by permission.

The divorce rate, 1867 through 1949—showing its climb over the years and the total number of divorces each year, 1940 through 1949. Readjustments immediately after World War II account for the 1946 peak. (From "Children and Youth at the Midcentury—A Chart Book," prepared by the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth; copyright, 1951, Health Publications Institute, Inc., Raleigh, N. C.)

only 0.5 divorces for each 1,000 population (57 divorces per 1,000 marriages during that year),[1] in 1949 there were 2.6 divorces per 1,000 population (267.9 divorces per 1,000 marriages)—a fivefold rate increase, also shown on the chart on this page. The peak was reached in 1946 (postwar readjustment), when the divorce rate reached the all-time high of 4.3 per 1,000 population (400 divorces per 1,000 marriages). Since 1946, the divorce ratio has averaged about one for each four marriages. No one knows how high the rising divorce rate will eventually go, but there are signs that the average rate will not go far beyond the 1946 peak—that a saturation point is in sight. None the less, high divorce rates are evidence of many broken families in addition to the number brought about by death and those resulting from desertion.

Contrary to the song of doom voiced by most quoters of these statistics, Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales have a slightly more optimistic inference to draw:

> . . . after the post-war peak, the upward trend of divorce rates has been checked, though it is too early to judge what the longer run trend is likely to be. To judge the impact of the instability of marriages, also the distribution of divorces by duration of marriage and by relations to children is just as important as the absolute numbers. As the figures show, by and large divorces are, and continue to be concentrated in the early periods of marriage and in childless couples. Even though married before and divorced, once people settle down to having children there is a relatively high probability that they will stay together.[2]

The above chart substantiates the moderate optimism of Parsons and Bales about the tapering off of the trend toward high divorce rates. During an eighty-year period, there was a steady increase and a spurt upward in the postwar year, 1946. Since that year the number of divorces has been declining.

While the White House Conference materials for 1960 supported the view of Parsons and Bales about divorce rates, the statisticians who worked up these materials differ on one important point. Parsons and Bales thought that divorces occur largely in childless families, but these data indicate that, "Although divorce is declining, the number of children involved in divorces has been increasing."[3] This is because families are larger and divorces are occurring more frequently than formerly in families with children. ". . . in 1958, of the 25.8 million families with children under 18, 2.8 million (about 11 per cent) were homes broken by death, divorce, or desertion."[4] The same authors do admit, however, that the other side of the percentage is the positive one: "Most children in the United States under the age of 18 (87 per cent) have a home with two parents."[5]

[1] These and the following data are from Kingsley Davis, "Statistical Perspective on Marriage and Divorce," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 272, pp. 9–23, Nov., 1950.

[2] Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, p. 4, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955. Reprinted by permission.

[3] Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

When economic production first shifted from home to factory, families were not yet emancipated from their culture of poverty. As this picture shows, workers fifty years ago were still a class apart. Old and young, men and women toiled long hours in factories like the New England textile mill above. Though conditions were far better than they had been in earlier centuries, workers had limited security and still less leisure. (Culver Pictures, Inc.)

The size of the family

The family is becoming a smaller unit than it used to be. Fewer relatives and in-laws under the family roof than there were a generation ago make it so. The common opinion now, except perhaps in some rural areas, is that a young couple should not live with either parental family but should set up housekeeping for themselves. Whenever possible then, the couple will avoid taking in aged parents or aunts or cousins and will confine the household to themselves and their children.

How has this change in attitude concerning the size and membership of the family household come about? Folsom[1] suggests that "economic changes" have forced the decrease in the size of the household and that we have rationalized this change, calling relatives in the home "a danger to be avoided" rather than "a duty to be cheerfully performed." He adds:

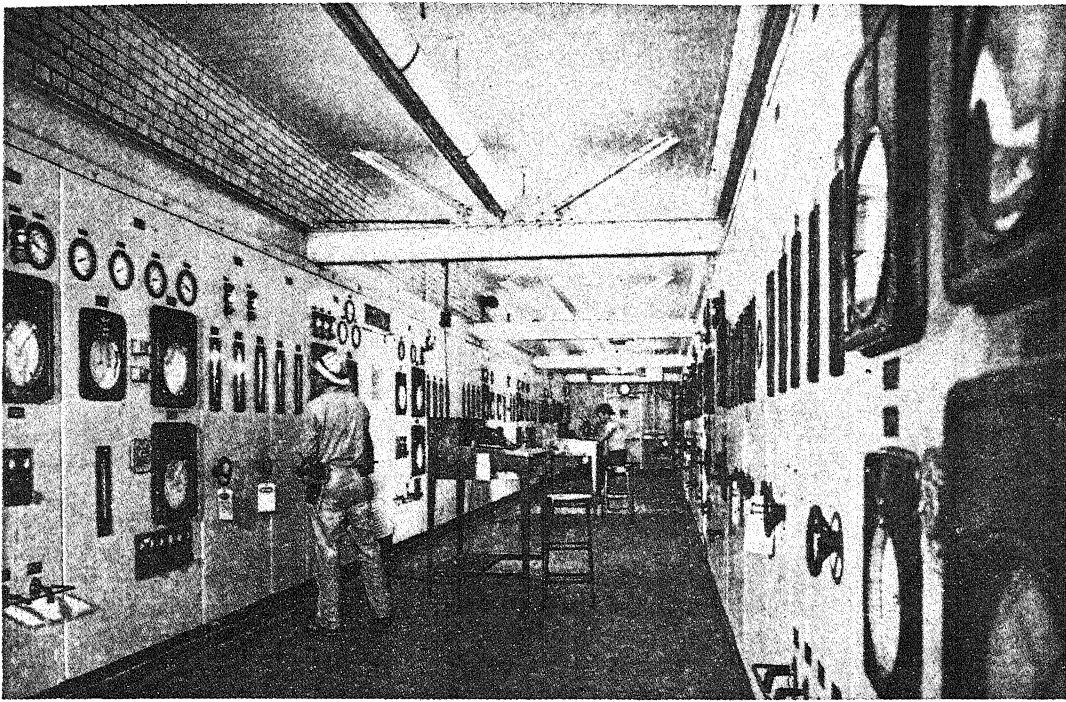
> While gaining certain values in the marital relation, we have lost other values of the old-time household where grandfather or aunt oftentimes had a personality which held the group together in a rich and beautiful social life.[2]

The more inclusive household may have been appropriate in agrarian days. Everyone from servants to grandparents or aunt had a useful role in the farm economy and in the functioning of the family. There was work of all kinds to be done indoors and out. The farm home was spacious, the land surrounding it extensive. Nevertheless, the newlyweds in those days were usually eager to establish their own household rather than move in with one set of parents or the other. After their household was settled, they often invited one or more relatives to come to live with them.

In the modern economy, however, families in urban and suburban settings have limited space. Their houses or apartments function as centers for consumption rather than of production. The expanded household is almost a thing of the past in urban life.

Is the size of the family smaller for the sec-

[1] Joseph K. Folsom, *The Family and Democratic Society*, p. 186, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1943.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 186. Reprinted by permission.

(Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

ond reason of fewer births? Trends in the number of children in the family have had their ups and downs. For awhile, population experts were citing with alarm the decline in birth rate, predicting a stable population for the United States by 1970. Deliberate birth limitation was presumed to be the principal cause of the reduced rate. More recently, the demographers have been a bit baffled by an upswing in birth rate at the very time when the general standard of living is high and the knowledge of contraception widespread. The belief previously had been "and the poor get children,"[1] but now the planning of families larger in size actually turns out to be a function of increased economic stability and of higher education. This odd and important reversal in trend was summarized for the White House Conference as follows:

The size of the typical American family has increased since World War II. The proportion of families with children under 18 increased from 52 to 56 percent between 1948 and 1958. The proportion with 2, 3, and 4 or more children also increased, while the proportion with only 1 child decreased.

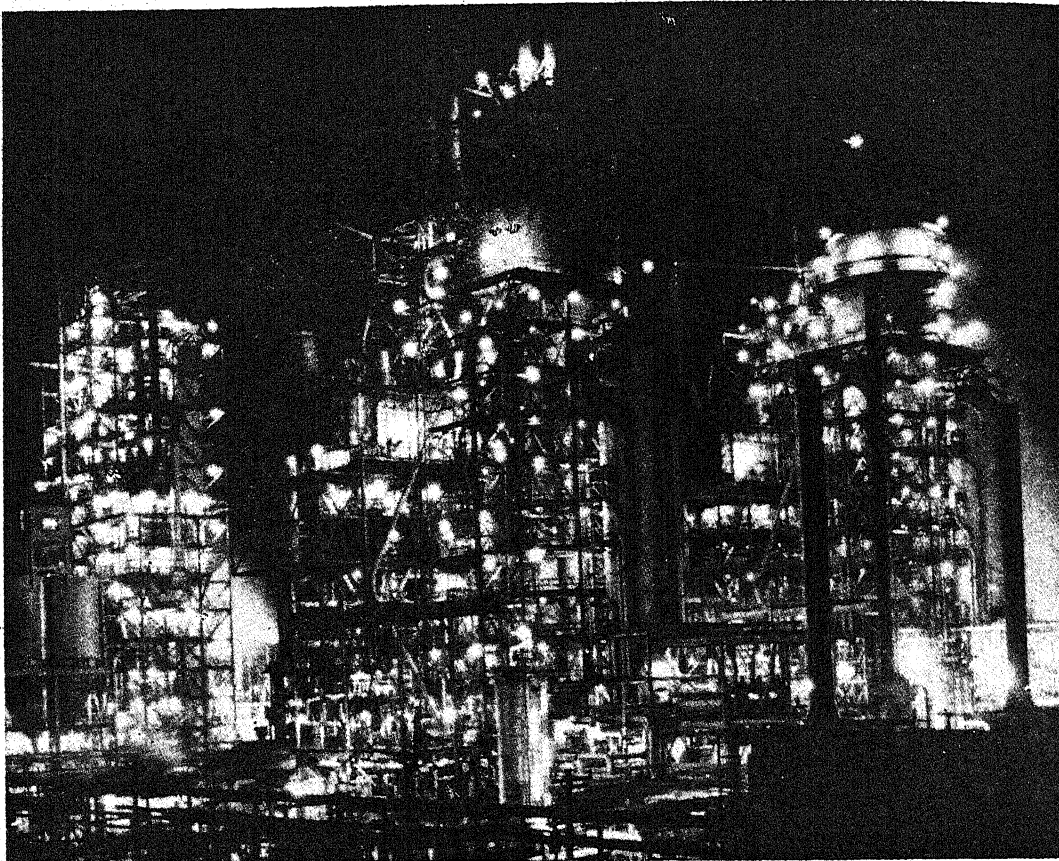
The increase in the number of children per family has been far greater in urban and rural non-farm families than in farm families. Formerly, our farm families were likely to be larger than our non-farm families, but the recent increase in the number of children in non-farm families has almost eliminated this difference between the two groups.[2]

The intertwining trends in family size contradict each other. On the one hand, the family household is smaller. There are fewer servants and kinfolk. On the other hand, the expected decline in number of children has met a reversal. The economically secure, better educated couples are having larger families. Their children are not thought of as an economic asset but, obviously, are wanted for their own sake. This "one big happy family" concept should not be idealized too far. Current statistics report this trend most certainly, but the curve may take a dip without warning!

Changing attitudes toward sex

According to the comparative chart on page 238, sex tabus bore heavily on our nine-

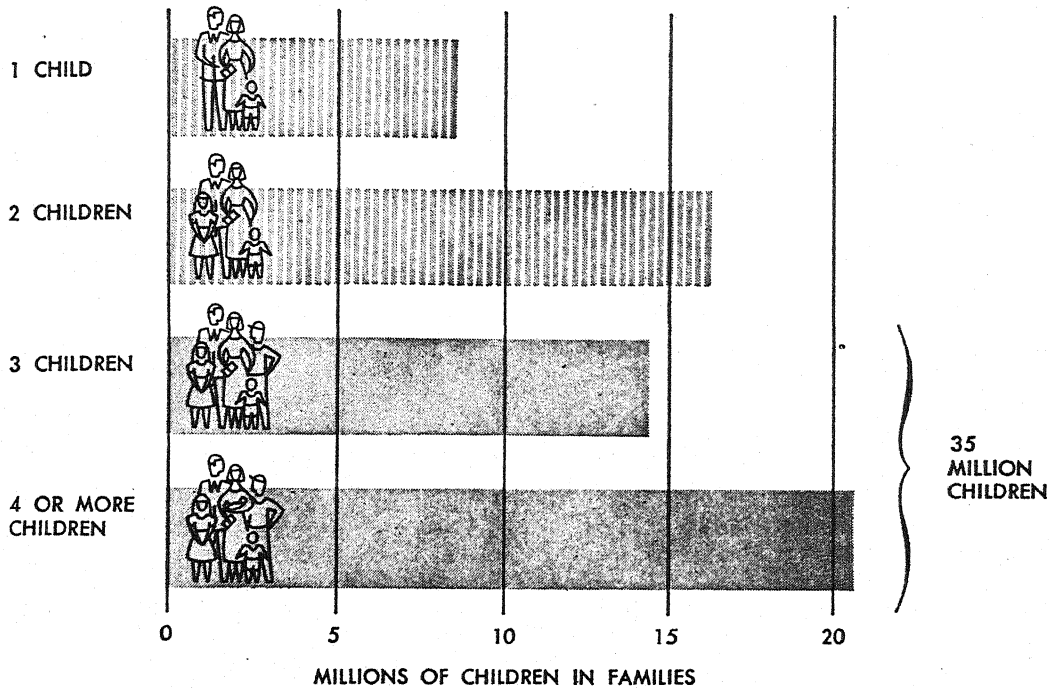
[1] This is actually the title of a book. *See* Lee Rainwater, *And the Poor Get Children*, Quadrangle Books, Inc., Chicago, 1960.

[2] Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

In contrast to the drudgery and long hours which factory work required of the breadwinners in by-gone days, he now has automation as his co-worker. Machines direct machines to do the hard work and reduce the hours of labor of the people who start them going and who make repairs. Theoretically, the more machines can produce, the more economic reward to the industrial worker, stockholder, and consumer. See also the illustration of production without manpower on page 243. (Courtesy Standard Oil Company of New Jersey)

teenth-century ancestors. Conversational prohibitions and rules of modesty were enforced rigidly against women and with considerable strictness even against the more irrepressible male. Nowadays sex is more openly discussed. Women as well as men may confess to having sexual urges. Sexual physiology and psychology can be seriously and unembarrassedly studied.

The family has been greatly affected by the change in mores. Women have made their claims to marital sexual satisfaction heard along with those of the men. On the one hand, this has led to more divorce and family instability, where patriarchal husbands refused to concede feminine rights or where mutual adjustment proved impossible. On the other, it has almost certainly bettered the marital sex relations and increased the happiness of many married couples, who are now able to work out their sex problems in knowledge instead of in ignorance.

Another probable effect of the new attitude toward sex experience is to increase somewhat both premarital intercourse and adultery. How great the change has been it is as yet impossible to say, since these are private acts and not easily susceptible to enumeration.[1] World War II undoubtedly led to

[1] Some attempts have been made, however, to discover the frequency of adultery and premarital intercourse. See G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage*, pp. 77–83, Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., New York, 1929; Katharine B. Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women*, pp. xviii–xix, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1929; Lewis M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, pp. 319–341, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938; D. D. Bromley and F. H. Britten, *Youth and Sex*, p. 287, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1938; Austin L. Porterfield and H. E. Salley,

Families are larger. (Taken from "Children in a Changing World," prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth)

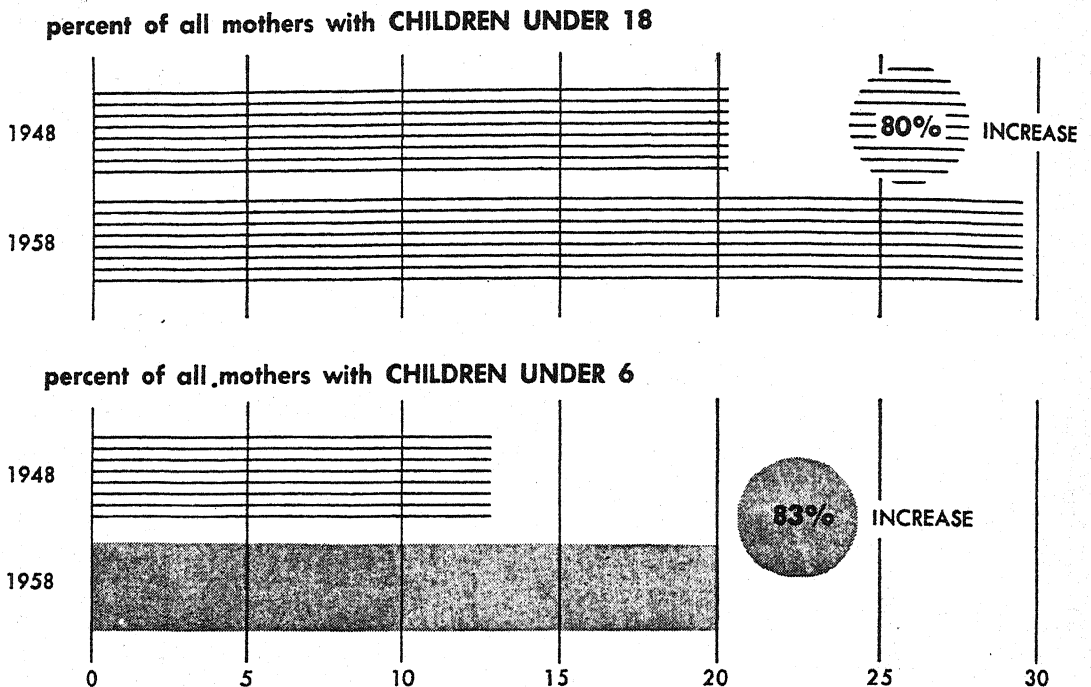
a further relaxation of inhibitions against premarital and extramarital sex freedom, but how much of the attitudes of exploit, adventure, recreation, and escape which characterized sexual behavior in the army camp and the war-boom community has come to be accepted in the more conventional peacetime atmosphere of the "home town" is uncertain. The controls have been somewhat relaxed over what they were in the prewar period, but this is in line with a trend that has been apparent since 1920 and which the war merely served to accelerate. Only research will enable us to tell just how far the trend has gone. In the meantime, stories of "promiscuity" among young people, and statements that it is now "perhaps meaningless" to try to define the term "sex delinquency," should be treated with caution. The mores do not move quite this fast even among the younger generation, and there are still some real sanctions that bear on premarital and extramarital sexual behavior. On the whole, one may say that there is much conservatism with regard to extramarital sexuality among adults, more certainly than one would suppose from reading contemporary drama or the modern novel.

"Current Folkways of Sexual Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 52, pp. 209–216, Nov., 1946; A. C. Kinsey, et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, pp. 547–594, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948; *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1953.

Jobs for married women

The new industrial system has taken a share of women's work out of the home and put it in the factory. Concurrently, women have found it increasingly necessary to go to the office, the school, the welfare agency, or the factory to work for a wage in order to help with the family budget. In some cases, career plans as well as necessity are a factor. The extent of this eight- to ten-hours-a-day exodus from the household can be grasped only from the figures on employment. In 1890, 4.6 per cent of all married women were in the labor force.[1] In 1958, 7.5 million women with children under eighteen, or about 30 per cent of such mothers, were employed.[2]

[1] Data from Sixteenth Census of the United States, "Population," vol. 3, pp. 26 f, 47, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1943.

[2] Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

More mothers of young children are in the labor force. (Taken from "Children in a Changing World," prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth)

There has even been a sharp increase in the employment of women with children under six years of age. In fact, the increase was 83 per cent in the decade 1948 to 1958. In the latter year, 20 per cent of all mothers with children under six were employed away from home.[1]

These data not only substantiate a marked trend toward the employment of married women but also indicate that there is still a large proportion of women who have their home as their full-time responsibility. Of those who work away from home, many have the same problems of commuting as do their husbands. They return home as fatigued at night as does the average male. Since housekeeping duties, lightened but by no means eliminated in the modern household, still have to be performed, there is little time and energy left for relaxed family life. It does not follow, however, that family breakdown and youth delinquency inevitably result.

In a study of 13,000 youth in Texas, Bernice Milburn Moore and Wayne H. Holtzman found that the implications of "working away from home" varied with the other circumstances of the family. In their large sample of youth from "white-collar families," they did not detect any increase in problems of adjustment among the youth. There was no evidence of greater tensions nor of tendencies toward delinquency. The implication is that the white-collar families live in neighborhoods where the supporting influences are consistent with middle-class standards and that the families are able to make substitute arrangements which are in keeping with their own norms.[2]

On the other hand, youth from "blue-collar families" whose mothers worked away from home did show an increase in tensions and family relationship problems. Here the opposite implication is clear. Already living in less privileged neighborhoods and with lower income, these parents are not able to surround their children with the same influences and substitute arrangements.[3]

Much of the work done by married women in politics, social work, and religious activi-

[1] These figures, *Ibid.*, chart, p. 10.

[2] The greater economic ability of higher socio-economic level mothers to afford substitute arrangements is also noted by Mirra Komarovsky in her book, *Women in the Modern World*, Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1953.

[3] *See also* F. Ivan Nye, *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior*, pp. 53–59, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1958. Nye studied all delinquent behavior, official and unofficial, finding that delinquency rates did not differ significantly between the children of employed and those

Even if both parents are working, fewer hours away from home on the job and more take-home pay have made possible more varied family recreation. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

ties is of great social utility, but if started relatively late in life it does not yield rewards in the form of status that go to the professionally trained or the long experienced. The woman often feels herself an amateur dabbler in a field where the positions of importance are held by professionals who have not tried to combine the careers of parent, homemaker, and social servant in one.

While the large majority of married women still find their time almost completely occupied with housekeeping and child-bearing responsibilities, just as did their mothers and grandmothers, there is a growing minority who are beginning to be interested in job opportunities. Some of them are looking for careers or at least for activities and interests beyond the home. However, we must not obscure the fact that most women who hold jobs do so because they have to, not because they want to. The married woman with or without children who has time to take a job and does so simply for self-expression is still a small factor in the labor market. If she does do work outside the home, it is much more likely to be voluntary and nonprofessional in nature.[1]

Parsons, for one, is not ready to say that the traditional family pattern is entirely of the past. Rather, he contends that, "The role of 'housewife' is still the overwhelmingly predominant one for the married woman with small children."[2] He further affirms that:

> . . . the adult feminine role has not ceased to be anchored primarily in the internal affairs of the family, as wife, mother and manager of the household, while the role of the adult male is primarily anchored in the occupational world, in his job, and through it by his status-giving and income-earning functions for the family.[3]

Rather than merely comment on "to work or not to work," Theodore Caplow advances the idea that the work of women away from

of nonemployed mothers. In either case, differences in delinquency rates were associated more with factors related to the competence of the mother.

[1] The American Council on Education now has a Commission on the Education of Women, whose information and research notes are published in a monthly bulletin.

[2] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15. Reprinted by permission.

(Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

home is accompanied by special conditions which are not true for men:

1. The occupational careers of women are not normally continuous. . . .
2. Most employed men support the family group to which they belong, but most employed women are secondary bread-winners. . . .
3. Women tend to be residentially immobile. . . .
4. In any woman's occupation a considerable proportion of the qualified workers in a given area will be out of the labor force at a given moment. . . .
5. Women are everywhere confronted with a vast network of special rules and regulations—some designed for their protection, some intended to reduce their effectiveness as competitors, and some adroitly contrived for both purposes at once. . . .[1]

The preceding paragraphs have indicated some of the new ways in which families may now organize themselves. There is the closely knit, relatively permanent, largely self-sustaining household, in which husband, wife, and children live and labor. This is the restricted conjugal family, quite different from the larger conjugal family of earlier times, which included more generations and more kin. Then there is the family in which the wife works outside the home, the family in which the children are sent away to boarding school, the family without a household (living in a hotel[2] or with husband and wife living separately), the family with adopted children or with stepchildren, and the family with no children at all. Variability of the types makes for confusion in family ideals at the same time that it reflects confusion already existing. It is an inevitable concomitant of social change.

[1] *The Sociology of Work*, by Theodore Caplow, pp. 234–236. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. Copyright 1954 by the University of Minnesota. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Cf. Norman Hayner, *Hotel Life*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1938.

Variability in the structure of families

Social changes affecting marriage and family patterns as we know them today can only be appreciated against the backdrop of other societies and cultures. Comparative studies will also help us arrive at sharper definitions and clearer concepts regarding the structure and function of the family. While vastly different from what we have today, the patterns of tribal societies were more homogeneous and complete in their control. Here is just one example of a distinctive pattern.

The Veddas of Ceylon

Among the Veddas of Ceylon the family is the basic social unit. It consists of parents and unmarried children, married daughters and sons-in-law. Family life centers around the rock shelters which are the real homes of the Veddas. . . .

The Vedda family is strictly monogamous. The women are treated as the equals of men, sharing the same food and in many cases receiving their share first. They are jealously guarded from strangers. The children are treated affectionately and indulgently. They go naked until six or seven years of age, when the boy assumes the rag loin cloth and the girl the sarong skirt, which form their only clothing even when grown up. The women take the little girls with them when they dig yams in order to teach them. The boys are taken out hunting when ten years old.

When a girl marries, her husband usually comes to her father's home to live and he becomes a member of her family. The son-in-law receives some personal property and land as gifts from his father-in-law. In the division of the father's property, which is usually arranged before death so that few direct rules of inheritance prevail, all children share equally, regardless of sex. But it is understood that the property given the son-in-law upon marriage is part of the daughter's share of the family property.

"The Veddas of Ceylon" (the heading is ours) is from Paul Radin, *Social Anthropology*, pp. 42–43, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1932. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

Marriage usually takes place at an early age. The boy or man goes to his future father-in-law with a present of honey, yams, grain, or dried deer's flesh. He usually selects the girl himself. If he is kindly received and the alliance accepted, the father calls his daughter, who brings a cord of her own twisting, which is tied around the bridegroom's waist, and they are man and wife.

* * *

Definition of the terms "marriage" and "family"

What do we mean by the terms "marriage" and "family"? Everyone knows in general what a marriage means in our society; but we are going to examine marriage customs of other societies, and we need a definition which will cover all the different forms of the institution, nòt just our own. The same is true of "family"; what characteristics have the Eskimo and Hottentot and Chuckchi families in common that enable us to distinguish in each tribe the folkways that are *family* customs from those that are not?

It is hard to construct such definitions, for the differences from tribe to tribe are very great. We can begin with a preliminary distinction. Marriage is a special type of person-to-person *relationship,* involving mutual rights and duties. The family is a kind of social *grouping,* made up of a number of people who stand toward one another in certain relationships. There is usually, but not always, at least one marital relationship in each family. On the other hand, not every marriage results in the formation of a family group.

How do we distinguish the family group from other groups in society? What kinds of person-to-person relationships deserve to be called marital? The marital relationship obtains between two individuals of opposite sex who have, in effect, made a contract between them that they shall henceforth, or until the contract is abrogated, fulfill toward each other certain obligations. The particular obligations which they assume will depend on the folkways of the tribe in question, but each tribe will have a more or less standard set of prescriptions concerning marital conduct which it will enforce upon those of its members who enter wedlock. The most common requirement is, of coùrse, that of cohabitation, and marriage is often regarded primarily as a means of regularizing sex relations. Other marital duties are concerned with child-bearing and child rearing, economic support, and exchange of affection.

One must define the family primarily in terms of the different individuals who make it up. The personnel, however, varies so from society to society that to compile an everywhere applicable list of persons who compose the family is impossible. There are exceptions to any generalization, and one can speak only of what is usual, not of what is universal. The family group includes at least one adult female, one adult male who is ordinarily (but not always) married to the female, and at least one dependent offspring who may be the natural child of both man and woman, of one of them, or of neither. These three individuals constitute the family nucleus, and this unit is called the "nuclear family." In the absence of the child the group may be called an *arrested family*[1] or, where child-bearing is deliberately avoided, a *companionate.* In the absence of one of the adults we speak of the family as being "broken" or "incomplete."

While the traditional *conjugal family* group centers around the married pair and their children, there is a variant type called the *consanguine family* in which the primary bond is blood relationship. Linton distinguished the two types of family thus:

> In societies organized upon the conjugal basis we can picture the authentic functional family as consisting of a nucleus of spouses and their offspring surrounded by a fringe of relatives. In those organized on the consanguine basis we can picture the authentic family as a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by a fringe of spouses.[2]

More often than not, the family group of either type is larger than three persons. There are additional children, additional wives or husbands or brothers and sisters, additional relatives, guests, servants, or concubines. The so-called *great family* group may include members of three or even four generations. Membership in a family group usually implies a definite place of residence, often means a part in a complex household economy, and always gives the individual status in the larger society. The family is a recognized unit in the social organization of tribe or community. As we shall see later, it is also

[1] This is Ernest R. Groves's term. *See* his *The Contemporary American Family,* pp. 381–411, J. B. Lippincott Company, Chicago, 1947.

[2] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man,* p. 159, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1936. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

the most powerful determiner of the course of the individual's life.

Types of marriage relationships

In our society, marriages are *monogamous*—each marriage partner having but one spouse. In some societies, however, the marriage system may be *polygynous* and tolerate a plurality of wives for one husband. Or, it may be *polyandrian* and permit one woman to have several husbands at the same time. Theoretically, there may even be *group marriage,* two or more women married to the same two or more men, but this arrangement is rare. Usually what is mistaken for group marriage is monogamy, polygyny, or polyandry plus concubinage, sexual hospitality, or socially tolerated adultery.

Polygyny is widespread among primitive tribes but is often confined simply to the wealthier classes who can afford to buy more than one wife in the open market. Since under normal biological conditions there are about as many men in a tribe as women, something must happen to upset the sex ratio before polygyny becomes possible for all males of the tribe. Ordinarily more wives for the well-to-do or powerful means no wives at all for the indigent. The young men whose fortunes are still in the making may have to content themselves with temporary liaisons with young unmarried girls or secret and hazardous conquests among married women.[1] The norm for the middle classes even in the so-called polygynous society is likely to be one wife for each husband. It is in this sense that we say that monogamous marriage is the most common form the world over. Polygyny is frequently a perfectly legal arrangement but at the same time a luxury not many can afford.

Polyandry is much less common than polygyny. Where it exists there is usually counterbalancing polygyny in some other stratum of society. Otherwise, the normal one-to-one ratio is in some way modified.[2] Among the Todas of India female infanticide was practiced before the days of British influence. This led to a surplus of males and, logically enough, to polyandry. Female infanticide is also basic to the polyandrian marriage system in the Marquesas Islands. The Marquesan females, favored by a one to two and a half sex ratio, not only take to themselves multiple husbands but feel free to dismiss spouses at will.

The terms of the marriage contract. What are the marriage vows in primitive society? Each group has its own list which are by implication taken when the bride and bridegroom go through the wedding ceremony. First on most lists is the right and duty of marital cohabitation. By the marriage contract husbands are given prior and sometimes exclusive right to sexual intercourse with their spouses. The wife's claims on the husband are in theory reciprocal, at least when the marriage is monogamous. More often, however, the woman must please rather than be pleased; her sexual status like her status in other phases of life is likely to be somewhat inferior to that of the man. Husbands are sometimes in a position to dispose of their wives' sexual favors for hire to fellow tribesmen, for hospitality, or in exchange for similar access to the wives of others. Wives, on the other hand, must usually entertain lovers clandestinely or not at all.

In most, but again not in all, marriages, there is an obligation on the couple jointly to create a family and maintain a household. Wives are often purchased because of their proved ability to bear children. In many cultures a barren wife may be returned to her relatives and a refund of the bride price demanded. Care of the infant rests primarily on the mother, but the father may be expected to provide protection and some degree of economic support. Sometimes, in the consanguine type of family, these latter duties fall to the maternal relatives, with the wife's brother playing the role conventionally expected of the father in our society.

The primitive is often ignorant of the cause of pregnancy[3] and for this reason or because of promiscuity in sex relations the facts of biological paternity cannot be established. "Sociological paternity" takes its place quite

[1] Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Marriage," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences,* vol. 10, p. 149, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

[2] On the relation between the sex ratio and form of marriage *see* Gladys Reichard, "Social Life," in Franz Boas, editor, *General Anthropology,* pp. 433–435, D. C. Heath and Company, 1938. *See also* Marvin K. Opler, "Woman's Social Status and the Forms of Marriage," *The American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 49, pp. 131–143, Sept., 1943.

[3] A curious mixture of ignorance and knowledge is revealed in the combination of magical and real birth control practices among the Shanel tribe of northern California, as reported by B. W. Aginsky, "Population Control in the Shanel (Pomo) Tribe," *American Sociological Review,* vol. 4, pp. 209–216, April, 1939.

adequately, however, and the child who knows not his blood parent is still assured of a father's care. There are various ways of fixing paternal responsibility. Among the polyandrian Todas one of the husbands goes through what is called a "bow-and-arrow" ceremony with the woman and thereby becomes the legal father of all her offspring, by whomsoever begotten, until with another man the ceremony is performed again.[1] Another variant on the biological pair family is provided in Samoa.[2] Here children after the first few years are in a position to choose for themselves in which of several households of relatives they will take up residence. Thus in effect they choose their own parents, at least for later childhood and adolescence. If they think themselves badly treated by one set of elders, they simply exercise their right to move on to others.

Other marital obligations assumed by couples in some tribal cultures may be noted. Often there are religious rites to be performed, food taboos to be observed, acts to be avoided in the interests of the marriage partner. There is the general requirement of continuing to please a spouse who is sometimes in a position to get a divorce simply by declaring the relationship unsatisfactory. Finally, there is the demand to be loved, to live in the warm atmosphere of husbandly or wifely affection.

Of course a *demand* to love defeats its own purpose; love cannot be coerced into being. But while it is difficult contractually to enforce attitudes of real affection, there is usually a safe presumption of the existence of mutual respect and understanding between the married couple, if the relationship continues to exist. Institutions like child betrothal, wife purchase, patriarchal rule, concubinage, and prostitution may seem inimical to conjugal affection. But if two people live together, co-operating in the daily routine of living, there gradually tends to come a recognition of mutual dependency and the growth of sympathy and understanding, even though there was no spark of romantic affection at the start.

Termination of the marriage contract. Few contracts are perpetual. Some provisions are nearly always made for the termination of contractual obligations. The marriage contract is no exception. It is usually dissolved by the death of one of the main partners to it, the wife or husband, although there are some tribes where a sister or a brother steps in to take the place of the deceased and, in one sense at least, continue the old contract in effect. Many marriage contracts are terminated long before death intervenes, however, through an action which we call *divorce*.

Divorce is the publicly sanctioned abrogation of a marriage contract which otherwise would continue at least for the lifetime of one spouse. The abrogation is permitted because the terms of the contract have become apparently unfulfillable either through the inability or the unwillingness of one of the partners concerned. In each culture there are certain socially accepted excuses or explanations for a divorce action, certain forms of breach of contract which may appear to justify the casting off of a legal spouse. These are the *grounds* for divorce. Unless the deserter or the spouse who casts off the mate can convince the community that his or her grievance is on the approved list of grounds, the action taken may not be regarded as a legal dissolution of the contract at all. Instead, the couple will still be regarded as married though living separately. This last is a legalistic view, however, and primitives are not as trained in hairsplitting as we are. More often in primitive society the refusal to live longer with a spouse terminates the contract, but in the absence of proper grounds, involves a penalty. The price paid for freedom may simply be a fine or the forfeit of the bride price and public disapproval. Sometimes, however, there are more severe penalties. According to the old Chinese law a man who repudiates his wife without her having furnished him with any of the eight justifying causes for divorce shall be punished by eighty lashes.[3]

There may be no grounds at all for divorce in some societies. Marriage is indissoluble, for instance, among the Veddas. On the other hand, there may be so many and trivial grounds for dissolving a union as to make marriage highly unstable. Usually the man has an advantage over the woman in gaining the sanction of the community to a severance of marital ties. A Toda husband can divorce

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, Macmillan and Company, London, 1906.

[2] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, p. 43, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1927.

[3] Cf. Edward Westermarck, *The History of the Human Marriage*, fifth edition, vol. 3, p. 302, Macmillan and Company, London, 1921.

his wife if she is "lazy" or "a fool" or for no reason at all if he is willing to pay her family a single buffalo; it will cost the wife ten buffaloes to rid herself of an unwanted husband. There are all sorts of accepted reasons for divorce. Almost every possible grievance that a married person can develop toward a spouse is a ground for divorce in some tribe or other. Adultery on the part of the wife and barrenness must head any list of divorce causes, after which, in no particular order, come mutual consent, adultery by the husband, ill temper, disobedience (in the wife), thievery, witchcraft, disease, impotence, old age, long absence from home, disrespect to parents, laziness, desertion, intoxication, and a myriad others. No tribe, of course, permits divorce for all these causes. Primitives in general are as much concerned about marriage stability as we are. Just because there is usually no formal governmental machinery for adjudicating and administering a written divorce code, it does not follow that they do not hold divorce in check. In the small primitive community, A's trouble with his wife B is usually well known among the neighbors. Gossip is quick to approve or disapprove of a divorce as conforming to or violating community standards. Tribal custom defines clearly when it is appropriate and when not, to cast off marital ties.

Sociological factors in the organization of the family. The family (nuclear or larger) is not only a biological and an economic unit. It is a highly important social unit as well. Simpler societies, like those of the Semang and Tasmanians, were little more than loose aggregations of families. In the more complex cultures, however, the educational, recreational, and ceremonial functions in society were shared between the family and groups like the men's club, the secret society, the group of neighbors, and especially the clan. The clan, where it exists, is likely to be the family's chief competitor for the loyalty and support of the individual. Even today the married person may be more drawn to his or her own relatives than to a spouse, especially when the latter is surrounded by "in-laws" whose criticism and disapproval it is frequently impossible to escape.

The question of where the newly married couple is to reside is vitally important in this connection. In some primitive tribes, as well as in the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome, residence is what is termed *patrilocal;* that is, the newlyweds, for the time being at least, join the household in which the husband grew up. Under this arrangement the wife is a stranger in the home in which she lives and labors; her own kin may be far away in another village and unable to support her against a husband who may think of his kin group first and of her welfare second.

The situation is reversed where *matrilocal* residence prevails. Here it is the husband who is at a disadvantage and the wife's relatives who are in a position to call the turn. In the consanguine Hopi and Zuni systems of maternal households, the wife (or her mother or grandmother) is the owner and head of the house and the husband almost a visitor therein. His real home is still his own mother's household; there and there only he has rights and wields some authority.

A third and probably the most common living arrangement is the establishment of an independent household, free from control of the relatives of either husband or wife. In many tribes this occurs immediately upon marriage, which is often delayed until the new home is ready for occupancy; in other groups the husband must labor first in the bride's household until the bride price is "worked out" or paid. The independent household, where it can be established without too much sacrifice, undoubtedly makes for a stronger marriage tie, and family counselors today often urge young couples to avoid living under parental roofs if possible. Nevertheless, matrilocal and patrilocal systems in varying forms and in differing degrees of stability and permanence, seem to work well enough in the societies that are used to them.

Who rules the family? Today we seem to be working toward what might be called a *democratic* system of family governance in which husband, wife, and even on some occasions the children participate in making decisions of concern to the group as a whole. There is some degree of democratic control in the family system of every society. Even where absolute authority is vested in one member of the circle, the others manage to make known their wishes and have them taken into account.

The so-called *patriarchal* family is ruled by a male head, the patriarch, who has extensive powers over the property and persons

of the wives, children, and other relatives who comprise the household group. Descent is reckoned in the male line, and property and authority pass on the death of the patriarch to one, usually the eldest, of his sons. The latter attempts so far as possible to keep the patrimony intact to pass on to still another generation. Daughters are sold as wives for the male offspring of other families. Younger sons go out to seek their fortunes or remain at home as laborers, hoping perhaps that something will happen to the elder brother and that they will come to rule under the parental roof. This system is seldom found in complete form in primitive society, but it flourished in the more complex civilizations of the ancient Hebrews, the Chinese, the Romans, and the Greeks. Many elements of the system are a part of our own inheritance.[1] Father's air of authority when doling out mother's allowance is, although he perhaps does not know it, a patriarchal survival. So is the so-called Victorian "double standard" of sex morality.

Matriarchal rule in the family, while theoretically possible, turns out actually to be a very rare phenomenon. Margaret Mead reports of the Tchambuli, a tribe of New Guinea, that "it is the women . . . who have the real position of power in the society,"[2] this in spite of the fact that the family is polygynous and the man pays for his wife. But the Tchambuli are almost the "exception that proves the rule." There are other tribes, like the Hopi, Zuni, and Iroquois, in which the woman owns the family dwelling place, and exercises therein much more than ordinary authority. However, final say on most matters in these societies rests with the men.[3] Often it is the matron's brother who is the real head of the household; sometimes it is her husband. One may say, then, that women were as well off in a number of primitive tribes as they are in the America of today. Considering their status in most societies, that is a real achievement. But the tales of the great kingdom of the Amazons where the men were all under female subjection are but figments of the ever-active human imagination. Except for perhaps a few little out-of-the-way paradises like Tchambuli, the matriarchal society is not yet a reality. It remains to males a bad dream, to feminists a hope.

This interlude in comparative cultures both provides basic concepts and definitions about marriage and the family, and yields perspective on the structure of our own family life. The material from all times and all places again shows why the family was placed high on the list of basic social institutions. We shall now discuss the *functions* served by the modern family, whose structural characteristics were earlier described.

Social functions of the modern family

In any society, certain essential things must be done for and by the members if that society is to persist. Provisions must be made for (1) procreation of new generations, (2) socialization of the new human material as it appears, (3) satisfaction of certain economic wants for food, shelter, health, clothing, etc., (4) protection of community members from danger to life and limb and from disturbances which upset peace and order, (5) arrangement for leisure time and provision of opportunities for recreation, and (6) satisfaction of human desires for adventure, recognition, and response. In a certain sense, these responsibilities are a primary charge on the *community* and are delegated to other groups like the family, the business corporation, and the religious denomination to be carried on under general community control and supervision.

The family, however, has always had a special position, almost co-ordinate with rather than subordinate to the community, in carrying out of some of these social functions. At present there is a tendency for the family group to lose some of this independence and to lose or give up functions that it has traditionally performed. This is obviously true of protection, for instance, for justice is not now a matter of a family blood feud, nor does safety from such hazards as riot, rape, burglary, and murder, or disease, accident, and dependent old age, depend as much upon the family as formerly. It is equally true of recreation, which now tends to be organized on a community-wide basis, where it is organized at all, and in any event takes place outside the home much more than it once did. As to

[1] For a discussion of the current survivals of the patriarchal family code, *see* Floyd Dell, *Love in the Machine Age*, p. 130, Rinehart and Company, New York, 1930.

[2] Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament*, p. 253, William Morrow and Company, New York, 1935.

[3] Cf. Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 191, Liveright Publishing Corp., New York, 1920. Lowie states that "a genuine matriarchate is nowhere to be found," but this was before the study was made of the Tchambuli.

On the farm, many of the early back-breaking chores have been replaced by modern conveniences, which free the family for other activities. Patronage of the bookmobile is hopefully one of them! (Top right, bottom, Tennessee Valley Authority)

the other functions, the situation is somewhat more complex and needs more careful examination.

Procreation and the family

The family, as we have defined it, must include children. While there are now many cases of adoption and of children placed in foster homes by social agencies, most young

members were born into the family and cared for through their years of helpless infancy by older members. Bringing children into being is a basic biological function which the family since its inception has been performing, a function absolutely essential to the survival of any human or animal society.

The community for the most part has been content to delegate this function to the family. It is only when the supply of babies has been seriously diminishing, that the community has attempted to interfere in what has been a family duty and prerogative. This interference has been in the direction of stimulating the family to perform the procreational function, rather than to shift the function elsewhere. Money has been spent in large amounts to get parents to follow sound rules in the hygiene of pregnancy and infancy. Propaganda has been disseminated urging families to do their duty to the next generation and rear plenty of healthy children. Various subsidies have been offered to make child-bearing more attractive from the economic point of view.[1]

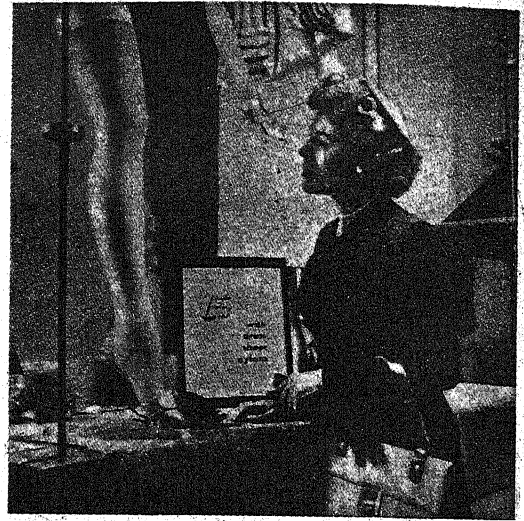
"Do-it-yourself" was taken for granted in pioneer days, but in the current decade it returns as a hobby and a fad. However, it is also a way to combat rising costs. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

Economic functions of the modern family

That there has been a decline in the economic functions performed by the family since the Industrial Revolution is a fact apparent to all. One has only to recall the many activities of a productive nature that went on in the Colonial or the pioneer household or that go on today in backwoods families to realize how greatly things have changed. It is true, of course, that there are still many commodities produced for home use in any rural farmstead, but there is increasing resort to the village store, to the newest super-market, and to the mail-order catalog for things our ancestors would have fashioned for themselves or grown in their own soil. In cities, nearly all the basic production activity, in the economic sense, has left the home. Even such traditional household activities as canning and preserving, baking, laundering, sewing, minor repairing, and home heating and lighting are more and more done for the family by outside agencies. City women still do some light cleaning and cooking, still knit or crochet sweaters for themselves or for their husbands or sew on "little garments," but even much of this latter activity is on a "fancywork" rather than a utilitarian basis. Suburban husbands cultivate uneconomic garden patches "for exercise" or mow a lawn no respectable farmhouse could afford to own. There is still, of course, sweated home industry, but this is a projection of the factory into the family circle. In the poorer classes there is still also the "sweated housewife" who labors long hours for no pay at routine and backbreaking household chores. These phenomena are passing, however. Both women and men have had increasingly to go outside the household in order to find a full-time productive function. In the most modern urban upper middle-class households there is a full-time responsibility for the housewife during the period of child-rearing, but after that, perhaps her home duties would not equal more than a half-time job.

Economic production may have been diverted from the family, but as a consumption unit the household still has real importance. The father, mother, and children eat at least

[1] In the United States these have been confined largely to income tax exemptions. Family allowances, maternity grants, marriage loans, bonuses for large families, and tax exemptions have all been used in various countries abroad. *See* Arne Skaug, "Contemporary Population Planning," in Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, editors, *Marriage and the Family*, pp. 610–619, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1942. (On the other hand, in India every effort is being made to reduce the birth rate because the runaway increase in population is outstripping the food supply.)

Competition for the family's dollars has led to elaborate displays, prepackaging of everything, urgent advertising appeals, and alluring time payment plans. Women continue to be the principal target of the competitor in the consumer's market, though the buying power of children and men has not been overlooked. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

two meals at the same table (although it may be in a restaurant), they live under the same roof (although it may be only an apartment house ceiling), and they use the same home furnishings. Because there are so many commodities and services consumed on a family or household basis, most advertising campaigns are aimed at Mrs. Housewife, and her tastes, preferences, and weaknesses are sedulously exploited. She is the purchasing agent of an important consuming unit. The husband and children will spend some of the family income, but the large part of the individual purchases will be made by her. She may go so far as to buy her husband's tobacco, shaving equipment, and, on occasion, even his clothes.

Economically, then, the family as yet is an important consuming unit but of declining importance in production. Its total economic role is perhaps not as vital to community life as it once was. An adult can now function independently of a family group if necessary as far as economic matters go. Single persons can in fact, enjoy an economic advantage. But the mores are still in favor of family living, even at some cost to the parties concerned.

The family as a socializing agency

The family, as we have already learned, has been in the past and is today the most important socializing agency.

There have been significant changes in the family's socializing role in the last two generations. In order to get along in an increasingly complex society, the individual has had to acquire more and more specialized information and more different skills. It has been increasingly impossible for the family to supply within itself the resources or the energy necessary to orient the young properly in the new world of science and industry, and this task has been more and more turned over to the school. The school day, the school year, and especially the span of years in the normal child's curriculum have been lengthened. The school no longer confines itself to "book knowledge," although there is more of this for the student to digest than ever. Citizenship attitudes, character traits, physical and mental health, recreation habits, and vocational skills are now a concern of the school authorities as well as of the parents. With the kindergarten and nursery school a part of the modern school system, the child is under some controlled out-of-home influences from an early age.

But while the family has given over some of its socializing functions, it still retains the premier influence. The family contacts with the child begin early, during the all-important

first three or four years of life and are so exclusive and absorbing that nothing which occurs later can equal them in significance. The all-important traits of temperament are especially conditioned by the relationships with the parents. A nervous parent conditions a nervous child; a demonstrative parent accustoms the child to outward display of emotion; a domineering parent develops submissiveness or an overcompensating resistance to all authority. Parental attitudes and values are also taken over almost unconsciously, and so are those of older brothers and sisters. In fact, the family stamps the general type of personality out of the material furnished by heredity. The school, the church, the playgang, and the community shape and mold many important details of personality structure, undoing some of the family's mistakes in part and making others. But the family remains the real architect. It lays down the basic plan of the personality.

The family is the chief of the agencies preparing the new generation for life in the community, but should it be? Could some other agency, say a scientifically created child-rearing institution run on the lines dictated by modern child psychology, perform the task of socialization better? No answer can be given to this query since no such institution as yet exists. The institutions we have at present, run largely for orphans and usually by the state, exhibit many serious defects. For child placement they are regarded by social workers as clearly inferior to a well-selected foster home. So while there already are many institutions for child care and training which supplement the family (day nurseries, nursery schools, kindergartens, boarding schools, summer camps), there is no disposition on the part of the community to displace any but clearly disorganized families from their function of child rearing and socialization, notwithstanding the effort of Communist China, referred to above, to eliminate the family in favor of collective child rearing.

Parsons agrees that the family is the principal cultural agency in the development of the child, but he adds a second dimension to the function:

> We therefore suggest that the basic and irreducible functions of the family are two: first, the primary socialization of children so that they can truly become members of the society into which they have been born; second, the stabilization of the adult personalities of the population of the society.[1]

The family is not a world unto itself, according to Parsons. Rather, it is a mediator of the larger culture. He makes the point clear that:

> *. . . the family must be a differentiated subsystem of a society, not itself a "little society" or anything too closely approaching it.*[2]

If the family is to be a stabilizing influence on adult personalities and is to socialize the younger ones to the point of eventual emancipation, Parsons believes that the adult members need to have one foot outside the family circle. Their memberships in larger groups make it easier for the children themselves to bridge experiences from inner family to outer world.

> More specifically, this means that the adult members must have roles other than their familial roles which occupy strategically important places in their own personalities. In our own society the most important of these other roles, though by no means the only one, is the occupational role of the father.[3]

Occupation and other outside contacts are not haphazard for the adult. They are defined in no small measure by his status in the community. Robert K. Merton emphasizes that stratification has a real bearing on the socializing function of the family:

> It is the family, of course, which is a major transmission belt for the diffusion of cultural standards to the oncoming generation. But what has until lately been overlooked is that the family largely transmits that portion of the culture accessible to the social stratum and groups in which the parents find themselves. It is, therefore, a mechanism for disciplining the child in terms of the cultural goals and mores characteristic of this narrow range of groups. Nor is the socialization confined to direct training and discipline. The process is, at least in part, inadvertent. Quite apart from direct admonitions, rewards and punishments, the child is exposed to social prototypes in the witnessed daily behavior and casual conversation of parents. Not infrequently, *children detect and incorporate cultural uniformities even when these remain implicit and have not been reduced to rules.*[4]

The effects of family status upon the child-rearing practices of the parents have been a major interest in stratification research. For example, the entire book *The Changing*

[1] Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17. Reprinted by permission.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[3] *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.
[4] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, revised edition, p. 158, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957. Reprinted by permission.

Children in a family learn at an early age to make friends with modern technology. Everyday experiences such as that pictured above are possibly one factor in helping them take their place in the world beyond the family.

American Parent is devoted to this topic.[1] It is based upon the now famous Detroit Area Studies, which have become the laboratory experience for graduate students at the University of Michigan.

Child discipline and other "rearing practices" have also been the preoccupation of Carson McGuire and his staff in their community studies.[2]

Patterns of Child Rearing, by Robert R. Sears and others, reports interviews with parents about detailed practices in child rearing from toilet training to "the development of conscience." These scholars are specialists in the study of socialization within the family, not in stratification. But their intensive interviews bring out the sharp differences in concept and practice between parents in the "middle class" and the "working class."[3]

Sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists are all including a study of "child-rearing practices" and other aspects of the socialization of children, as a major field of inquiry. Every issue of *Sociological Abstracts* contains such references. Cooley, Mead, Faris, and Burgess earlier stressed the importance of the family as society's medium of acculturation. Social science research is now proving the point with meticulous care.

Wish fulfillment through the family

It is not enough for the family to perform services for the community. To have survived as long as it has, it must also be a useful instrument of wish satisfaction for its own members. The community has an interest in this wish satisfaction, since the quality and completeness of it affects the personalities of citizens and influences their usefulness in community life. Of major importance, the family is, for its members, an institution for sociability and an association based on mutual affection. One's best friends are the members of the family; one counts on their sympathy and understanding and relies on their loyalty. When, as between husband and wife, the af-

[1] Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent*, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1958.

[2] *See* Carson McGuire, "The Textown Study of Adolescence," *Texas Journal of Science*, vol. 8, pp. 264–274, 1956; and Carson McGuire and George D. White, "Social-Class Influences on Discipline at School," *Educational Leadership*, vol. 14, pp. 229–236, January, 1957.

[3] Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, *Patterns of Child Rearing*, Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Illinois, 1957. *See* Appendix C for the "selection and composition of the sample," p. 511.

fectional tie is bound up with romance and sex emotion, it attains a level that transcends ordinary human relationships and provides unique satisfactions for both man and woman.

Of course one must admit that these ideal relationships are not always found in families and that intimacy brings with it almost equal possibilities of personality conflict, of petty irritations, of pain and disappointment. Where affectionate relations do exist, however, the setting is right for some satisfaction of the desire for new experience, as well as the wish for security. The whole experience is, in one sense, adventure, since the intimacy in the family experience provides opportunities for plumbing the depth of human personality that less permanent or more one-sided relationships do not offer.

Security from a world of stress and struggle is also provided by the home and the familiar human relationships within it; ideally the family is a sort of psychological relief station in which one can safely relax and slough off the cares of shop or office. Comfort and an opportunity for esthetic satisfactions should be a part of the home atmosphere. Reverential attitudes are tied up with romantic love and with respect for the personalities of spouses and parents and so are the desires for recognition of one's achievements or excellence. The children and mate appreciate one's virtues and respect one's abilities even though the world may be sadly myopic in this regard. A powerful agency for mental health is a home in which exploitative control over other persons (the *power* motive) is absent, in which tension is at a minimum, and in which there are real affectional ties binding the members.

Summary

Even from this cursory survey of the family and its functions it is possible to draw at least three fairly definite conclusions. The first of these is the continuing importance of the family as a biological group for procreation and for the physical care of the offspring. The second is the very considerable decline in what Ogburn calls the "institutional functions" [1] of the family, economic, recreational, protective, and (in the formal sense of the term) educational. The third is:

[1] William F. Ogburn, "The Family and Its Functions," in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, p. 661, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933.

> . . . the resulting predominant importance of the personality functions of the family—that is, those which provide for the mutual adjustments among husbands, wives, parents and children and for the adaptation of each member of the family to the outside world.[2]

The general view of the modern family which emerges is not of a highly ritualized and institutionalized entity. It is rather what Burgess has called [3] *a unity of interacting personalities*, set in a cultural framework, responsible for a limited number of social functions and for a biological function. As an association of personalities it can exhibit all the variability that personalities themselves exhibit, relatively unconstrained by community sanctioned prescriptions. The family is held together by internal cohesion rather than external pressure. Today it is more unstable than in the past and yet more free to fit the variations in human personality.

Family disorganization

While the community may seem less concerned about the form and function of the family now than in past generations and be willing to tolerate more variations from the traditional norms, it still has a vital interest in the quality of family member interaction. Out of the crucible of twenty-four-hour-a-day intimacy that is family living, come all sorts of personalities, some of whom play useful, others wasteful and destructive, roles in community life. Unsatisfactory husband-wife relations cause personality deviations and social maladjustment, too. In fact, the family has a whole pathology of interpersonal attitudes and reactions which, now that mores control conduct less rigidly, are coming to the surface. To complete the picture of modern family life and the family's role in the community, we must now study some of the family failures, some of the cases of *family disorganization*. How and why do family relations become harmful to personality balance and integration instead of promotive of them? What lies back of desertion and divorce?

Family disorganization as a process

While the final decision that family relations are intolerable and must be severed may come as the immediate result of a quarrel or some other crisis, back of the decision

[2] *Ibid.* Reprinted by permission.

[3] Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family*, vol. 7, pp. 3–9, March, 1926.

there is a history of increasing discord, of the accumulation of irritations, of an increase of disorganization in the group. Actually the *roots* of domestic discord are to be found in the personalities which husband and wife bring to the marriage relationship and in the attitude patterns they develop in their children. Harriet Mowrer describes the situation aptly and explains how the family unity is always subject to the push and pull of attractive and repulsive forces:

> Every individual enters marriage with certain potentialities and impediments to adjustment. These "assets" and "liabilities" consist in general of the ideas of the person as to what constitutes marriage, of habit complexes, and of dominant trends in the personality. The result is that if two persons marry having opposite or contradictory views or expectations, conflict is inevitable. And since complete resemblance in attitude and ideas in two persons is never found, some conflict arises in every marriage.
>
> To achieve any degree of accord, therefore, some adjustment has to be made to these inevitable conflicts. If the conflict is not too sharp, assuming some degree of plasticity in the persons themselves, they will tend to work out some sort of an accommodation. This accommodation may be of the type in which conflict is repressed in the interest of accord, or it may take the more complete form of solution in which conflict is dissolved and disappears.
>
> . . . Since adjustment is never a finished product, marriage requires a continuous series of accommodations and reaccommodations to be successful. This is equivalent to saying that in marriage there is always both accord and discord, though little attention is given to the discord so long as it has its compensations in accord.[1]

If the married couple does not develop techniques for accommodating differences, then the marriage is likely to become progressively disorganized through accumulating conflict tensions. The spouses will go through what Waller describes as "the process of alienation,"[2] each new conflict tending further to separate them and prepare them for the originally impossible idea of divorce. At some point "the fiction of solidarity" is broken and the husband and wife no longer keep their marital troubles to themselves but begin to tell their friends and line up outside support and sympathy, each for his own position. When this occurs, Waller feels that a definite breakup is in the offing, and almost inevitably the marriage heads for the crisis of separation and the painful liquidation of the household.

Causes of family disorganization

All marriage involves some conflict and adjustment after the beatific days of courtship and all couples go at least a few steps along the alienation road. Why do some travel it so much farther than others? The answer lies, of course, in no one type of influencing factor but in a complex of causes which operate singly or in combination to produce marital failure. Folsom has provided a convenient classification of these factors.[3] His four categories of causes of marital conflict are: (1) circumstantial or nonpersonality factors such as bad physical health, economic circumstances, interference of relatives, the unwanted arrival of children—in other words, *bad luck* of some sort; (2) *personality defects* in one or both mates, such as psychopathic tendencies, alcoholism, sterility, definitely abnormal sex tendencies, or other symptoms of personality distortion serious enough presumably to cause failure in *any* marriage; (3) *personality differentials* or disparities in intellectual, social, religious, or artistic backgrounds or sensibilities, without any implication that either party is generally unfit for marriage; and (4) *incompatible roles,* interfering wishes, specific frustrations that arise because of the failure of the marriage to meet some particular expectations of one of the parties to it. Causes in all four of these categories interact on and either enhance or (sometimes) neutralize one another.

Roles and marital adjustment. We must pay special attention to the influences on marriage that are subsumed under the fourth of Folsom's categories. While factors from the other three groups may underlie and condition marital conflict, the conscious frustrations that appear crucial to the participants are likely to center in this fourth area. Especially prominent as causes of marital failure are the social interactional roles which husband and wife learned to play in childhood, which they continue to play unconsciously as adults and which often prove to be incompatible one with another.

The first role of the child is the one he plays in his family group. There he is pam-

[1] From Harriet R. Mowrer, *Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord*, pp. 35, 36. Copyright, 1935. Used by permission of the American Book Company, publishers.

[2] Willard Waller and Reuben Hill, *The Family, a Dynamic Interpretation*, revised, pp. 513–515, Dryden Press, New York, 1951.

[3] Joseph K. Folsom, *The Family*, pp. 440–441, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1934.

pered and petted and assumes "the spoiled-child role"; he is harshly treated and develops the idea he is unwanted (the "nobody-loves-me" role); he is regarded by parents and comes to regard himself as the bright child or the dull child, the capable child or the clumsy child, the self-reliant child or the dependent child, in relation to other siblings in the family. If the roles in which he appears to be cast by parents, brothers and sisters, playmates, or schoolteachers are flattering to his ego, the child tends to accept them; if they are thwarting to his desire for approval or to other specific wishes, he still may acquiesce in them or he may struggle against them and play compensatory roles instead. Thus the child who acts the bully may be doing so to avoid the stigma of ineffectiveness or incompetence cast upon him by a tactless or domineering father. He rebels against the role defined for him in parental attitude and adopts a pattern of behavior which he thinks (unconsciously) will get him the respect he craves.

The role patterns of childhood are not thrown aside wholly when adult status is arrived at. The husband, now in a new family situation, may react very much in the same way he did in the old. He may still expect his wife to "be a mother to him" and play toward her the same role of "irresponsible but lovable big boy" he played toward his own mother earlier. On the other hand, he may compensate for his failure to stand up to his own father when a youngster by now adopting a domineering attitude toward the members of his new household. If the wife happens also to have more than ordinary need for ego security, because of her upbringing, conflict between her and her patriarchal husband must inevitably result.

There are a wide variety of childhood roles which husbands and wives may re-enact in their own matrimonial relationship. Among them might be listed the following:

1) The henpecked husband (accepted a subordinate role in his childhood home or in his play-group and now accepts subordination to his wife).

2) The hypochondriac husband or wife (babied when a child and minor ills magnified by parents; now expects same attitude from spouse).

3) The husband who wants to be worshiped (he was a little god to his father and mother).

4) The abnormally jealous husband or wife (possibly denied affection in childhood).

5) The sexually frigid wife (one possible reason would be father antagonism transferred to the husband; another would be bad sex education).

6) The "child wife" ("Mother's little girl," never allowed to grow up).

7) The chronically unfaithful husband (*all* women must love him the way his mother did).

It should be noted also that family members do not usually confine themselves to single roles in their marital interaction. Burgess and Cottrell point out that, on the contrary, they:

> . . . have a repertoire of several roles which they may act out with one another in different situations or in composite forms in a single situation. It is well known to clinical workers, particularly those employing prolonged therapeutic interviewing, that a "transfer situation" develops between subject and interviewer which is not merely a relation in which the subject develops affectional and dependent attitudes toward the interviewer, but a relation in which the subject re-enacts all his more important relational patterns. The interviewer will at various times be made the benevolent parent, the punishing parent, the hated rival sibling, and so on. The same kind of phenomena obtain in the marriage situation. There tend to be, however, one or two patterns of relationship which are most consistently maintained in the marriage. They may not appear to the observer as the most "pleasant" or "satisfactory" patterns, and yet they may be satisfying to certain components of one or both of the personalities involved.[1]

It must be remembered, of course, that the husband or wife is usually not conscious of the particular roles he or she is adopting; they both act from patterns of habits long ingrained in them. Often a most disconcerting experience to a husband or wife in the early months of married life is the forced realization of one of his or her own role patterns through its explicit description by the outraged spouse.

Cultural definition of marital roles. There is another class of role concepts that are important in marriage, namely those defined in culture. One is brought up to expect certain things in a wife or husband, and when the mate fails to live up to expectation, disillusionment and disappointment are the results. Thus a wife may regard marriage as an opportunity for her to play the role of the ro-

[1] Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., *Prediction of Success or Failure in Marriage,* p. 176, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939.

mantically adored and faithfully served heroine she has read about in a novel or seen on the screen. If her husband's marriage ideal is a wife who plays the role of housekeeper and tender of his comfort (who puts out his pipe and slippers every evening), then acute frustration is inevitable for both parties. Tension will soon develop unless some accommodation of the conflicting patterns is brought about.

We have already discussed, in Chapter Six, the conflicting feminine roles in our culture today—the traditional "feminine" versus the "modern." This not only creates a conflict of wishes within many women but may also be a source of conflict with the husband's concept of feminine roles. The contrast between the traditional and modern role patterns for women is, of course, an oversimplification. The situation is really much more confused by a great variety of wifely role patterns. Without a generally accepted pattern [1] each married pair has to work out their own accommodation of roles. The possibilities for individual expression are great—but so are the chances of conflict if the husband's and wife's concepts of their respective roles are not in reasonable agreement. Until the role of the wife becomes restereotyped in our culture, there will be many failures, however, because of differing expectations of what marriage will be like. But in time the attitudes of the two sexes will again become more similar, since in a marriage they both have basically the same values at stake.

Family organization and reorganization

Divorce statistics are at best only indirect and incomplete indices of the amount of family disorganization which exists. But taken in conjunction with other indices (reports of social workers, plots of novels and plays, research into family life by sociologists) they have presented an impressive picture of disharmonies arousing wide social concern. As a result there is a growing movement to try to improve the quality of family interaction by better preparation of the young to assume marital responsibilities. There has also been greatly increased emphasis on proper treatment of domestic discord when and as it presents itself.

[1] Cf. Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family," in Ruth N. Anshen, editor, *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1949.

The family life movement

The preventive program against family disorganization is primarily an educational one. Beginning in 1888, when the forerunner of the Child Study Association of America was formed in New York City, and augmented by the founding, in Chicago in 1896, of what is now called the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, an educational program was started that has expanded into the present-day *family life* movement. This sizable movement with its many organizations was finally pulled together, in 1938, into the National Council on Family Relations. Coordinating their efforts in this one organization are a great variety of professional persons: teachers of courses in marriage and the family in the fields of sociology, social work, psychology, home economics, biology, and law; professional marriage counselors; family-life educators; lawyers; clergymen; social workers; psychologists; psychiatrists; physicians and nurses; and also research personnel from almost every field that has anything to do with the welfare of the family.[2]

At the college level, Ernest R. Groves, a sociologist, introduced the first course on preparation for marriage. Here is how it came about:

> In 1927 Mr. Groves was permitted to enter a pioneering program that . . . was already underway at the University of North Carolina. This instruction as distinct from that already given in the family was the first college credit course in preparation for marriage offered anywhere in the world and represented a daring academic innovation.[3]

The popularity of such courses has been so great that many of the most staid and scholarly colleges and universities have now introduced work in "marriage and the family." Even as early as 1948, 49.8 per cent of 1,270 colleges and universities which were queried reported that they had at least one course in this area.[4] In a later questionnaire, April, 1956, Judson T. Landis found that of 768 colleges, junior colleges, and universities, 82

[2] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family*, second edition, pp. 735–736, American Book Company, New York, 1953.

[3] Ray V. Sowers and John W. Mullen, editors, *Understanding Marriage and the Family*, p. 234, The Eugene Hugh Publishers, Inc., Chicago, 1944.

[4] For further analysis of this trend, *see* Henry A. Bowman, "Marriage Education in the Colleges," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, pp. 407–417, December, 1949. Also *see* Henry A. Bowman, "A Critical Evaluation of Marriage and Family Education," *Marriage and Family Living*, vol. 15, pp. 304–308, November, 1954.

per cent offered one or more courses.[1] In one large university, a professor of sociology who teaches in this field regularly has more students trying to register each semester than can be accommodated in the classroom.

In high schools, home-economics courses have been the chief vehicle of family life education. No longer confined to the teaching of the culinary and domestic arts, home economics or "home-making" courses are including material on child development and family relationships—with a growing stress on the emotional aspects of family life.

In elementary schools, more family life education is being given at all levels from the kindergarten on up. Sex education in science and health courses is receiving greater emphasis, but more important is the teaching and practice of mental health. No less significant are the growing number of projects and programs by which children learn to give and take in groups, to plan together and work for group goals.

Family life education has become a part of the program of numerous churches and youth serving agencies—settlements, community centers, the Y.M.C.A.'s and the Y.W.C.A.'s. During the past decade and a half, women's magazines and other popular magazines have been carrying well-written articles by competent professionals. Excellent pamphlets and books have also appeared.[2] These materials are not only for individual consumption but are also used by the parent education and child study groups which exist in almost every community.

Marriage counseling. Along with the expanding education in family life there has been a growth of counseling services. Family service agencies are doing more marriage counseling and are making their services available to those who can afford to pay fees.

Family counseling is becoming an important part of the professional work of many professional persons. The American Association of Marriage Counselors, organized in 1943, is composed of professional persons from the fields of:

> . . . psychiatry, medicine, psychology, social work, and ministry. It is concerned with the development and improvement of standards of training of marriage counselors and with increasing the availability of professional services in this field.[3]

Marriage counseling is the province of psychiatry and of accredited marriage counselors. It is also becoming a major responsibility in industry, in organized religion, and in military organizations. Air Force chaplains found that more of their time was required in marriage counseling than in the conduct of worship services. Yet, in most seminaries, their training had been only theological. Catholic University in Washington, D. C., and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health at The University of Texas were asked by the Chief of Chaplains of the Air Force to conduct one-month-long seminars for chaplains who already hold their B.D. degree and have had several years' experience in the Air Force. These seminars are not intended to produce certified counselors but, rather, to acquaint chaplains with the dynamics of family life which they encounter in their daily work, with methods of referral to community resources, and with ways to improve their own effectiveness as they deal with family problems on Air Force bases. Nine such seminars of thirty chaplains each were completed in 1960, and additional ones were planned.

The modern curricula of seminaries include courses in pastoral counseling. In fact, some larger churches have employed full-time counselors whose training is in psychiatry, social case work, or clinical psychology. Likewise, industry is finding that many of its personnel problems reflect family situations. They have employed counselors or psychiatric consultants and have arranged for referral service. Industry is also upgrading the human relations knowledge and skill of its regular supervisors.

In between family life education and marriage counseling is still another development

[1] Judson T. Landis, "The Teaching of Marriage and Family Courses in College," *Marriage and Family Living*, vol. 21, p. 36, February, 1959.

[2] Among the books available, in addition to those already referred to in this chapter, are Henry A. Bowman, *Marriage for Moderns*, fourth edition, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1960; James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor Stoker Boll, *One Marriage—Two Faiths*, Ronald Press Company, New York, 1960; Clark E. Vincent, *Readings in Marriage Counseling*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1957; Jessie Bernard, *Remarriage*, Dryden Press, New York, 1956; Evelyn Millis Duvall, *Family Development*, J. B. Lippincott Company, Chicago, 1957.

Family life education has also entered the secondary school field. *See* for example, Bernice Milburn Moore and Dorothy M. Leahy, *You and Your Family*, D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1954.

[3] A. D. Buchmueller, "Family Life Education," in Russell H. Kurtz, editor, *Social Work Year Book, 1960*, pp. 245–251, National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1960. Reprinted by permission. This article provides an excellent survey of activities, developments, and trends in the family life movement, and has been drawn upon by the authors in this treatment. *See also* Burgess and Locke, *op. cit.*, pp. 733–745.

—group discussion, group counseling, and group psychotherapy. These are new and expanding efforts in themselves. The pamphlet *Group Psychotherapy Methods* describes one such approach.[1] Specialists in individual therapy may look upon such a development with some alarm. Nevertheless, reputable professionals are experimenting with the discussion of common problems of family adjustment in homogeneous groups rather than dealing with couples or individuals separately. A more intensive therapeutic program which is family-centered and is undergoing experimental evaluation has been reported in *A Family Grows*.[2]

[1] Eugene C. McDanald, Jr., *Group Psychotherapy Methods*, The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, The University of Texas, Austin, 1957. See also J. W. Klapman, *Group Psychotherapy, Theory and Practice*, Grune and Stratton, New York, 1946; and F. Powdermaker and J. D. Frank, *Group Psychotherapy: Studies in Methodology of Research and Therapy*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1953.

[2] Bert Kruger Smith, *A Family Grows*, adapted from reports by Harold A. Goolishian and Eugene C. McDanald, Jr., The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, The University of Texas, Austin, 1959. This pamphlet is an expansion of *A Quarter for Growing Up*, originally published in 1956.

The future of the family

Whether the agencies and techniques just described can, as they are developed and used more widely, succeed in arresting the decline in family stability is one of the great questions. We must remember that the family is not like those social institutions which come and go in human history and which are present in some cultures but not in others. The family is a cultural universal, varying in details of structure but rooted firmly in the nature of man and in human experience. We must not therefore be too hasty in abandoning hope for it. As Burgess and Locke conclude, ". . . it seems safe to predict that the family will survive, both because of its long history of adaptability to changing conditions and because of the importance of its function of affection-giving and receiving in personal satisfaction and in personality development." [1]

[1] Burgess and Locke, *op. cit.*, p. 750. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

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Chapter 18

Institutionalized Education

Childhood Learning Among the Canadian Ojibwas

This tribe gains its livelihood by winter trapping, and the small family of father, mother, and children live during the winter alone on their great frozen hunting grounds. The boy accompanies his father and brings in his catch to his sister, as his father does to his mother; the girl prepares the meat and skins for him, just as his mother does for her husband. By the time the boy is twelve, he may have set his own line of traps on a hunting territory of his own and returned to his parents' house only once in several months—still bringing the meat and skins to his sister. The young child is taught consistently that it has only itself to rely upon in life, and this is as true in the dealings it will have with the supernatural as in the business of getting a livelihood. This attitude he will accept as a successful adult just as he accepted it as a child.

* * *

The Cheyenne Indian Boy

At birth the little boy was presented with a toy bow, and from the time he could run about, serviceable bows suited to his stature were specially made for him by the man of the family. Animals and birds were taught him in a graded series beginning with those most easily taken; and as he brought in his first of each species, his family duly made a feast of it, accepting his contribution as gravely as the buffalo his father brought. When he finally killed a buffalo, it was only the final step of his childhood conditioning, not a new adult role with which his childhood experience had been at variance.

* * *

A Papago Child in Arizona

Dr. Ruth Underhill tells me of sitting with a group of Papago elders in Arizona when the man of the house turned to his little three-year-old granddaughter and asked her to close the door. The door was heavy and hard to shut. The child tried, but it did not move. Several times the grandfather repeated, "Yes, close the door." No one jumped to the child's assistance. No one took the responsibility away from her. On the other hand, there was no impatience, for after all, the child was small. They sat gravely waiting till the child succeeded and her grandfather gravely thanked her. It was assumed that the task would not be asked of her unless she could perform it, and, having been asked, the responsibility was hers alone just as if she were a grown woman.

* * *

Education for the Ojibwa child does not exist as something separate. All life is a learning experience for him. The Cheyenne Indian family likewise teaches the child through a gradual, natural process. The Papago children soon know that a job request is to be completed, no matter how difficult. These three illustrations were presented by Ruth Benedict as examples of continuity during the life cycle, in contrast with our system in which the ". . . child does not make any labor contribution to our industrial society except as it competes with an adult. . . ."[1]

Though far removed culturally from these instances, Benjamin Franklin learned through a similar process. His "education"

"Childhood Learning Among the Canadian Ojibwas" is taken from Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," in *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein, p. 24. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1955. By permission.

"The Cheyenne Indian Boy" (the heading is ours) is taken by permission from Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," in *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein, p. 24, The University of Chicago Press.

"A Papago Child in Arizona" (the heading is ours) is taken from Ruth Benedict, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning, in *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein, p. 24, The University of Chicago Press, Reprinted by permission.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

differs from the others in that it involved more alternatives and more "book learning."

Benjamin Franklin's Father as Educator

You may like to know something of the person and character of my father . . . his great excellence lay in a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. . . . I remember well his being frequently consulted for his opinions in affairs of the town. . . . He was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs when any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbiter between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. . . . I continued employed in my father's business till I was twelve years old. . . . But my dislike to the trade [of tallow chandler] continuing, my father was under apprehensions that if he did not find one more agreeable for me, I should break away and go to sea, as his son Josiah had done to his great vexation. He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him, and to see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools, and it has been useful to me, having learned so much by it as to be able to do little jobs myself in my house when a workman could not be readily got, and to construct little machines for my experiments, while the intention of making the experiment was fresh and warm in my mind. . . . From a child I was fond of reading. . . . I had a thirst for knowledge. . . . This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer.

* * *

A society which has developed more specialized and formal schooling is described by Mark Zborowski:

"Benjamin Franklin's Father as Educator" (the heading is ours) is from, quotations assembled from Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, by Joseph K. Hart, in *A Social Interpretation of Education*, pp. 37–38, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

Book-Learning in Traditional Jewish Culture

The centuries of Jewish history are centuries of study—millennia of study, in fact, for the cult of scholarship was well established before the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. To the tradition-steeped Jew the great landmarks of his history are closely associated with the pursuit of learning. Jerusalem, Yabneh, Babylon, Pumbadita, Spain, Wolozhin, Mir, Slobodka, and Lublin are linked in his mind not only with dramatic events but also with the study of the Law. When the Romans destroyed Jewish national independence, the first thing that Rabbi Jokhanan Ben Zakai did to preserve the Jewish tradition was to create the school in Yabneh. When the Japanese organized the Jewish ghetto in Shanghai, in 1942, one of the first things the Jews did was to organize a *yeshiva* (school of higher learning) and reprint a full set of Jewish scholarly classics. A Jewish community is unthinkable without a center of learning, be it a *kheder,* where the youngest children study, a *talmud tora* for those whose parents cannot pay tuition, a *yeshiva* for higher studies, or a *bes hamidrash* for prayers as well as for study.

The values and patterns discussed here are the ones characteristic of the *shtetl*—the Jewish community in the small town or village of Eastern Europe, i.e., in the Ukraine, Poland (Galicia and Russian Poland), Lithuania, Rumania (Bessarabia and Bukovina), Hungary, and Carpatho-Russia. Their effects and their traces are also perceptible among Jews in western Europe and in the United States.

Entrance into the *Kheder* is a painful moment in a child's life. A mere baby, he is taken away from his mother's familiar presence to spend ten or twelve hours a day at study. The child cries, the mother has tears in her eyes, but, as I. I. Singer says in his memoirs, "No power could oppose the commandment to teach Tora to a boy who is already three years old."

In this small, ill-lit, ill-ventilated room packed with childish misery, are nourished the roots that will eventually blossom into a veritable passion for study, one in which zest is conspicuous. And from the uncomprehending rote repetition of syllables and words will develop an exuberant

"Book-Learning in Traditional Jewish Culture" (the heading is ours) is from Mark Zborowski, "The Place of Book-Learning in Traditional Jewish Culture," in Mead and Wolfenstein, *op. cit.,* pp. 118–119.

virtuosity in interpretation and endless analysis.

It is with the talmudic studies that the true joy of learning is born. In the *dardaki kheder* and the *khumash kheder* the work was routine, mechanical, boring, repetitious, without much understanding and without the true joy of learning. The Talmud opens the opportunity to exercise individual capacities and imagination, to show one's intellectual quality.

The opinion of the teacher about the boy's capacities is not enough. The father may take him from time to time, on a Sabbath, to be examined by some member of the family who is known as erudite, a *lamdan,* or to any famous scholar in the community, and anxiously wait for an opinion. When a learned guest from out of town visits the family, the father will provoke a scholarly discussion in order to find out what the guest thinks about his son's endowment. The whole family listens to the discourse, especially the mother, because the opinion of a learned man means a great deal for the future of the boy. The great question is: Is he qualified to devote his life to his studies, or should he interrupt them and go into trade or business?

If the boy is judged capable of becoming a *talmid khokhom,* he is sent from the *gemara kheder* to the highest institution of learning, the *yeshiva.* There, among hundreds of boys from different towns and provinces, under the guidance of eminent scholars, he will devote all his days and a great part of his nights to study.

* * *

From following in a parent's footsteps to attending school

Educational "systems," as the above descriptions show, cover a wide range of types. "Learning" in primitive life (as with the Ojibwas, Cheyenne, Papago, and our old friends, the Aruntas) is a phase of everyday living with children following in the patterned footsteps of their elders. Primitive societies do have some social structure with a definition of statuses and roles and with initiation into adulthood. Missing, however, are the separate educational institutions as we know them and as some earlier societies have produced them.

In the primitive tribe, the informal transmission of skills, customs, and folklore through the personal contact of elders and children was a direct and highly efficient means of education for reasons not difficult to understand. Following the ways of the group was an expedient means of avoiding danger and enjoying the satisfactions which were commonly desired. In similar, direct ways the child also learned the accepted explanations of the phenomena in his environment which aroused his curiosity.

The slightly formal side of primitive education seems surprisingly informal to us, who are accustomed to cathedrals of learning, grading systems, and the awarding of degrees. Nevertheless, there was at least one institutionalized pattern,[1] the initiation ceremony which marked the acceptance of a youth into adult society. Whereas the informal learning in his early experience had dealt largely with the folkways of carrying on daily existence, his initiation was the group's means of guaranteeing conformity to the mores.

The "bush" school, described by Mark Hanna Watkins,[2] lies somewhere between the informal education of certain primitive tribes and our present formal and specialized institutions. It is a type of secret society in which every boy and girl receives training for a period of eighteen months to three years. Watkins remarks that "although the 'bush' school is conducted in a special environment —i.e., in one which is differentiated from the general social milieu—the degree of artificiality is not as great as it often is under the conditions of formal education among peoples of European and American cultures."[3] Thus, in the boys' school:

> The first instruction involves a series of tests in order to determine individual differences, interests, and ambitions (to see what the boys can do) and an acquisition of the fundamental knowledge which every adult is supposed to know. Later, opportunity for demonstration of special ingenuity, skills, and originality is afforded. A youth who shows special aptitude for weaving, for example, is trained to become a master of the craft; while those who show distinctive skill and interest in carving, leatherwork, dancing, "medicine," folklore, etc., likewise are developed along these specialized lines. This early training also includes work in the erection of the structures which are used while the session lasts. The buildings constructed for the school are sufficiently numerous to constitute one or more towns. All the

[1] Although we are accustomed to speaking of primitive tribes and other stable societies in the past tense, we should remember that anthropologists still have no difficulty in locating isolated groups little touched by the social mobility of the modern world.

[2] Mark Hanna Watkins, "The West African 'Bush' School," *The American Journal of Sociology,* vol. 48, pp. 666–675, May, 1943.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 671. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

The parent-type of teaching in tribal life is so automatic, necessary, and expected that one has difficulty thinking of it as an "educational process" set apart in any way from all life. Even the simple group study and the use of book materials, as pictured here, come as a drastic change. (Courtesy United Nations)

laws and traditions of the tribe are taught, as well as duty to the tribal chief, tribe, and elders, and the proper relations to women. Training is given in the recognition and use of various medicinal herbs, their curative powers, and various antidotes. Also, the secrets of wild animals are taught—how they live, how to recognize their spoor, and how to attack them. . . .

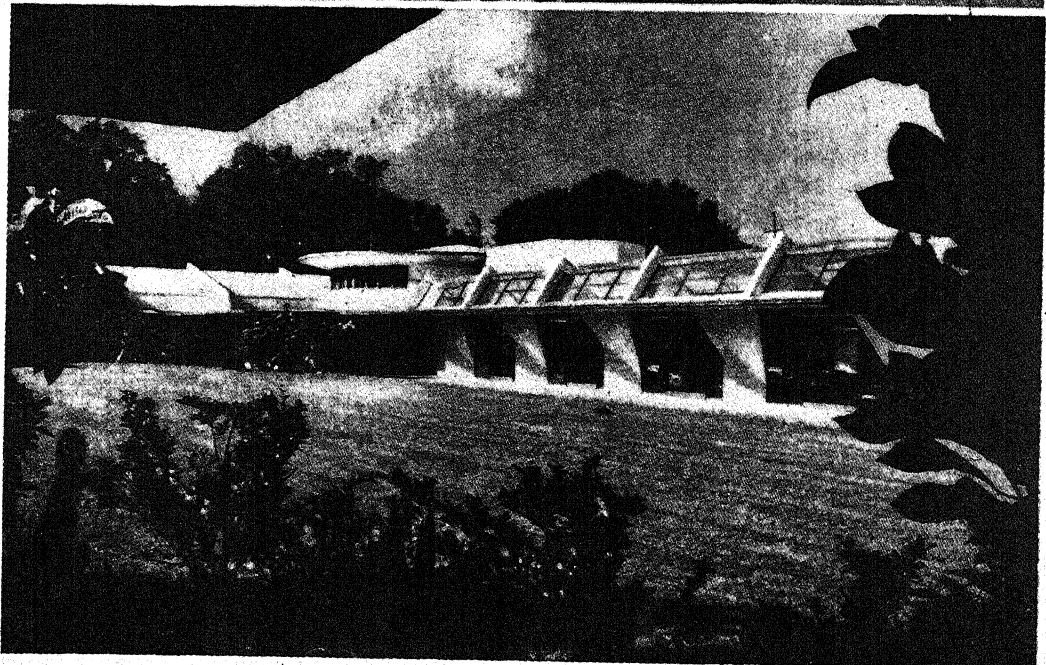
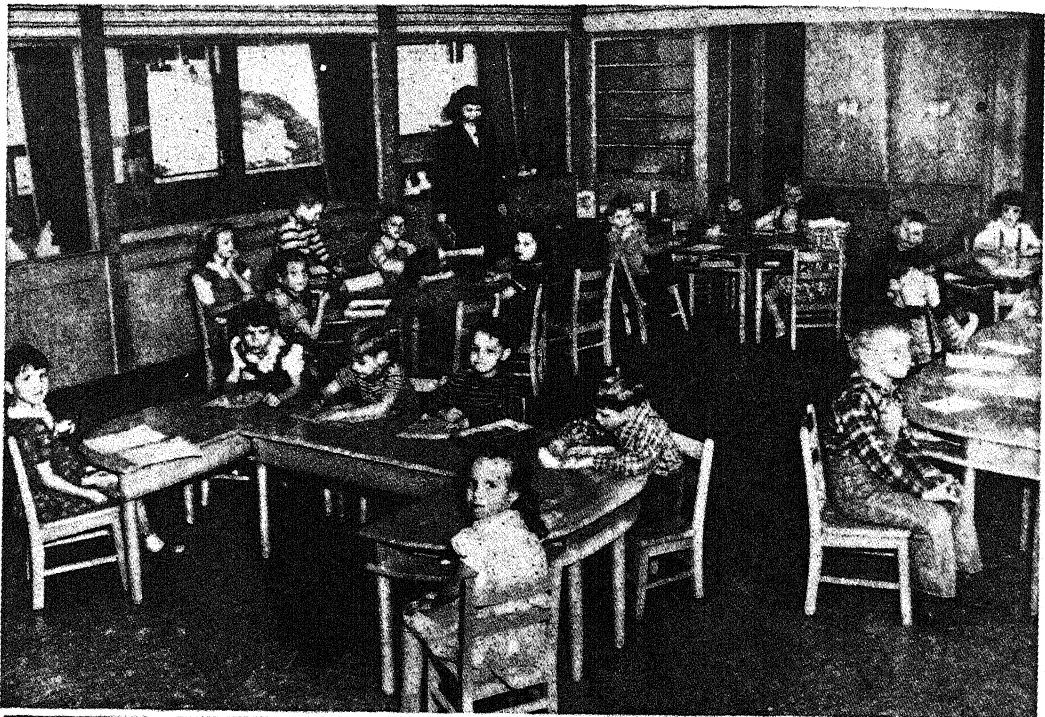
Life in the secret society is a complete *rite de passage* from the helplessness and irresponsibilities of childhood to citizenship in a world of adults.[1]

Both the informal and formal education of the primitive child serve the function of fitting him into the accepted ways and organization of the group. He, in turn, transmits that culture through a similar process to the new members who succeed him. Invention, discovery, and critical thought are not fostered by this type of education.

As in the primitive tribe, so in all stable societies education adjusts individuals to the status quo. Isolated groups continue the use of the same techniques for tilling the soil, hunting, fishing, preparing food, and providing shelter which their ancestors employed generations ago, and there is a similar stability in their beliefs, ritual, and tabus.[2]

No group is entirely static—minor changes are always in process. Yet such stable societies as the tribe, the medieval manor, and the early New England farm village seem to have possessed a rigidity of organization quite foreign to the social mobility with which we are acquainted. In the modern setting of movement and change, the methods and objectives of education are in a constant state of flux, responding to the same forces we see at work in the other parts of social organization. An increasing dependence upon formal methods of training their young is characteristic of a people who are changing from an integrated folk society to a specialized technological one.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 670–671. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

[2] Melville J. Herskovits ("Education and Cultural Dynamics," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48, pp. 737–749, May, 1943) points out that the educational process of Dahomey, French West Africa, "is a mechanism which is permitting the people to hold fast to traditionally sanctioned custom; and this, more than any other single factor, is preventing the breakdown in morale that has been the experience of so many other peoples who have made contact with European civilization." Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Americans believe in education—at least they believe in schooling—and they take pride in buildings and equipment. School boards are also showing sophisticated concern for teacher selection, preparation, and salaries. (Top, Courtesy Hutchison, Bottom, Ewing Galloway)

Institutionalized education in the United States

From the "bush" school to public education in Scarsdale, Evansville, Atlanta, Berkeley, and Klamath Falls is a hop which seems to be

around the world and into another century. It is. In no other society is there an equal to the modern American school system from the point of view of the numbers reached or the cultural items included in its curriculum. The sociologist is interested in the structure and function of the system. We have just observed how tribal induction of the young into the culture of the society must be pinpointed according to the specific primitive culture under examination. Likewise, modern education, even within one country like the United States, cannot be encompassed in glib generalizations. Consequently the following summaries of our educational organization are given with variation and reservation.

Schooling—for all children and youth

In this country:

Education is the only kind of activity in which all persons . . . are required by the state to participate. There are many activities in which a high proportion of the people take part, such as voting, getting married, working, and attending religious services. Many kinds of activities are specifically forbidden such as homicide, abandoning one's wife, and voting twice. This major exception to free and voluntary association which characterizes most of our experiences is in part an indication of our belief in universal education and our rejection of an elite system.[1]

Because of this open-to-all and required-of-all policy, public schools have been reluctant to set admission requirements [2] and to drop failing students. In Great Britain, education is open to everyone only at the lowest levels. The important day of reckoning comes with general examinations when the child is eleven years of age.[3] He is permitted to enter "grammar school" in preparation for the universities only if he rates among the highest. Others are directed at this point to general high schools or to trade schools. Tentatively and gently, the public schools in the United States are moving toward some selection and differentiation. From the first grade on, there are special classes for the mentally retarded. Or, if the child's test scores are very low, he is not admitted to public schools at all. The bright students in some schools are now given a special curriculum and a select group of teachers. Nevertheless, education in the United States is more available to all of the children and youth than in any other country and at any other time. As late as 1890, less than 4 per cent [4] of the young people of high school age were enrolled in public schools. By 1950—and these percentages increased slightly during the next decade—"95 per cent of the children 6 to 15 years old and 74 per cent of those 16 or 17, were enrolled in school." [5]

Education—a vehicle for social mobility

In a culture which has emphasized the participation of all adults in a democratic government and education as preparation for it, other values may, incidentally, be served simultaneously. Our "open class" system of stratification means that while some people attain upper levels of economic and prestige standing, all people have the opportunity to aim for such attainment. Education is one vehicle for getting there.

Williams believes that:

. . . changes in the economic structure have increased the importance of education as a means of social mobility. Consequently, we find increased pressure to graduate all students from high school, to admit all high school graduates into college, and to permit college students to continue in college as long as they wish.[6]

Williams specifies what he means:

As the day of the self-educated, self-made man passes in the United States, education becomes the ladder or escalator to white-collar, technical, managerial, and professional occupations. If there is to be even nominally free access to the better-paid and prestige-carrying occupations, the necessary education must be open to all who have the capacities and motivation to acquire it. The American system has gone very far in this direction.[7]

In going "far in this direction," our educational system has been accused of lowering standards to accommodate all comers. The critics cite another societal value which they think is more important than pushing everyone toward a diploma. It is symbolized by the words *excellence* and *scholarship*. The argument goes this way: If the United States is to compete with the scientific progress of Russia and other nations, more attention must be given to finding and educating the superior

1 Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *What Shall the High Schools Teach?*, 1956 Yearbook, p. 29, the Association, a department of the National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1956. Reprinted by permission.

2 The barrier of race will be considered later.

3 For a discussion of the British System, *see* Central Advisory Council for Education (England), *15 to 18, a Report*, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1959.

4 The Advisory Committee on Education, *The Federal Government and Education*, p. 5, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1938.

5 Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

6 Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 300. Reprinted by permission.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 298. Reprinted by permission.

student. The experience and labels of education may be nice for all the Johns and Marys in their climb upward socially and occupationally, but the hard facts of life are that the nation will not survive unless it succeeds in scientific and technological competition with other nations. These advocates of free but unequal education believe that when schools of any level are open to all, the quality of pedagogy is watered down to meet some mythical average. The time of the superior teacher and student is wasted. Indifference, inattention and disrespect result. In the meantime, the least well-qualified students cannot keep up with the average, and they too become discouraged. These arguments have not been validated by experimental proof, but nevertheless, they are often uttered with conviction.

School structure has responded to this divergence in values. The "rail system" separates the sheep from the dullards at an early age and expects each to scoot along a curricular track adapted to his own ability. One city of 200,000 population tried another plan of nominating its students rated superior in grades and other achievements for special schooling in the summer. The young people paid nominal tuition and received no academic credit, but had the stimulus of advanced work with superior teachers. Many other patterns have been invented to speed the more able on their way to high levels.[1] However, the matter is not a simple one of locating and developing talent. Its implications and complications will now be developed.

The pursuit of excellence

This phrase is also the title of a report in the "America at Mid-Century Series," published by, and based upon studies sponsored by, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Incorporated.[2] It deals with more than techniques for spotting students with high I.Q.'s. In a broad way, it relates the goals of education to cultural values.

> No inspired and inspiring education can go forward without powerful undergirding by the deepest values of our society. The students are there in the first place because generations of Americans have been profoundly committed to a republican form of government and to equality of opportunity. They benefit by a tradition of intellectual freedom because generations of ardent and stubborn men and women nourished that tradition in Western Civilization. Their education is based upon the notion of the dignity and worth of the individual because those values are rooted in our religious and philosophical heritage.[3]

Against this idealistic background, the authors state their view of the primary goal of education:

> Intellectual excellence has not always ranked high in the scale of values of Americans generally; but with our rising educational level and increasing prominence of intellectual pursuits, there are signs that this evaluation is changing. The desirability of such a change cannot be too strongly stressed. As we shall have occasion to note again, a nation only achieves the kind of greatness it seeks and understands. Only if we value intellectual excellence shall we have it.[4]

While the report has the character of a broad manifesto on "the pursuit of excellence in education," it also deals with specific facts and recommendations.

Other foundations have made similar studies. The Edgar Stern Family Fund sponsored one entitled *Recognition of Excellence*, whose report contains an inventory of current research "on the identification and channeling of potential excellence in young people," and also includes commentaries "on the present state of the art of recognizing excellence," prepared by eight prominent scholars, including the sociologist, Robert K. Merton.[5]

The American High School Today is still another report. Published by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and conducted as a field study by James Bryant Conant, formerly president of Harvard, this report contains twenty-one recommendations in all. The proposal attracting the widest attention[6] is his advocating abolition of the very small high school in favor of consolidated institutions whose enrollment is sufficient to finance the employment of qualified teachers and the purchase of adequate equipment. Among Conant's other recommendations is the one that bright students should be required to take at least four years of English, of foreign language, and of history or social studies; and

[1] *See also* "School Pioneers with the Gifted," *The New York Times*, August 7, 1960, p. 69.

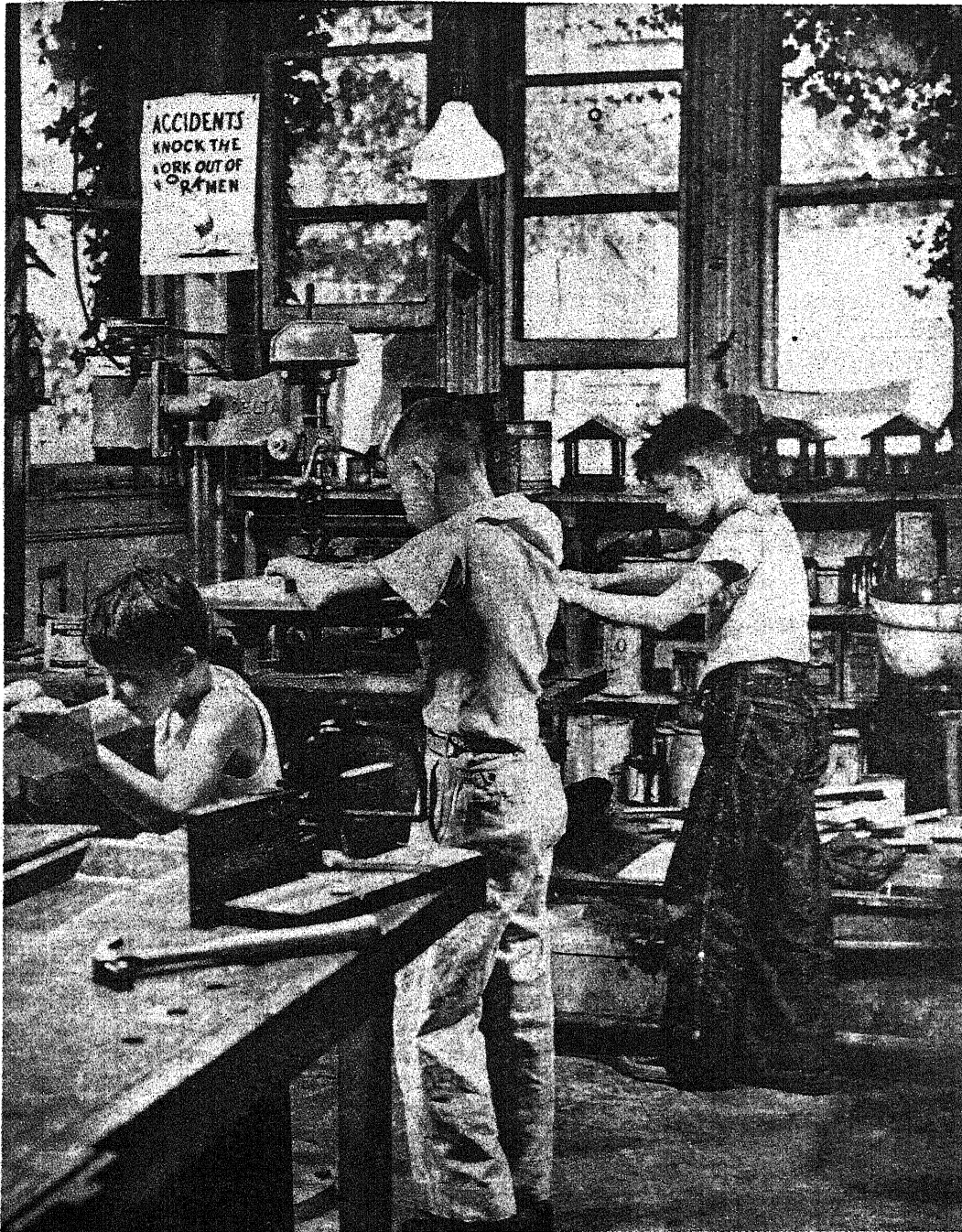
[2] *The Pursuit of Excellence—Education and the Future of America.* Copyright © 1958, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46. Reprinted by permission.

[5] *Working Papers of a Project of the Edgar Stern Family Fund*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1960.

[6] James Bryand Conant, *The American High School Today*, pp. 77–96, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1959.

The school workshop is only one of many departures from old-time and old-line curricula. Americans are not yet agreed on educational objectives. Which types best fit the needs of a democracy—experimental or traditional, general and basic or specialized, classical or vocational, mass or individualized? Or, a combination? (Ewing Galloway)

three years of mathematics and of science.[1] He also recommends that every school should provide one full-time counselor for every 250 to 300 students.[2] In his concluding paragraph, the author states:

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

. . . . I am convinced American secondary education can be made satisfactory without any radical changes in the basic pattern. This can only be done, however, if the citizens in many localities display sufficient interest in their schools and are willing to support them. The improvements must come school by school and be made with due regard for the nature of the community. Therefore, I conclude by addressing this final word to citizens who are concerned with public education: avoid generalizations, recognize the necessity of diversity, get the facts about your local situation, elect a good school board, and support the efforts of the board to improve the schools.[1]

At the same time that outside organizations like foundations and citizens' groups have been urging the schools to stress higher levels of excellence, the educators themselves have taken the lead. "Project Talent" has involved the co-operation of many school men and educational groups. It studied a sample of 450,000 youth, examining all factors related to the discovery and development of talent.

The first national census of aptitudes and abilities has passed its first and most important phase—the testing of 450,000 students in secondary schools across the nation. This was accomplished through the administration of a comprehensive two-day battery of tests of aptitudes, abilities, achievement, and background factors. The tremendous program was made possible through the cooperative efforts of school administrators, principals, and teachers in the schools, working with ninety Regional Coordinators for Project *Talent*.[2]. . .

In the spring of 1957 a large-scale national survey and long-range follow-up study of high school students was initiated. This study is known under the brief title of *Project Talent*. Only a short preview of preliminary results will be reported.[3]. . .

It is planned that each student be followed up one year after graduation from high school, five years after graduation from high school, and also ten and twenty years after graduation from high school. It is planned that the extensive data on file at the University of Pittsburgh in connection with this study be made accessible for special studies of other research workers.

In addition to the scientific findings, it is hoped that this study will help those who are planning for the general improvement of educational methods and for better guidance programs to assist each individual student to realize his full potential. Thus, our main objective is to provide a sound basis for the early identification, better development, and greater utilization of human talents.[4]

Many individual schools have developed their own studies, experiments, or demonstration projects, concerned with student ability and achievement. This is true of Evanston, Illinois; Forest Hills, New York; Portland, Oregon; Indianapolis, Indiana—in fact, there are no states without some new patterns under trial.[5] Many educators insist that emphasis upon intellectual pursuits and the development of talent has been a persistent goal of the schools. They are gratified to have public interest aroused for a cause which educators have espoused right along. Nevertheless, the critics say this is not true. The schools have been distracted by other goals. At any rate, the pendulum is swinging. Where it will come to rest, no one knows.

Whether to educate for the upward progress of the many or for the high attainment of the few, or both—has long been a baffling question. The paradox of such apparently conflicting goals in the same society is not so surprising if we look at the many masters and task masters in American education. No system equals the multiplicity of policy determiners.

Pluralistic control

Schools in this country did not start out to serve the state. They were organized to educate the people and to be controlled by them. The federal constitution gives the fifty states freedom to make their own regulations and to operate their schools, but the states, in turn, have passed on to local school districts much of the responsibility. School boards chosen through election in the local district are the final authority in choosing superintendents and in determining policies of operation.

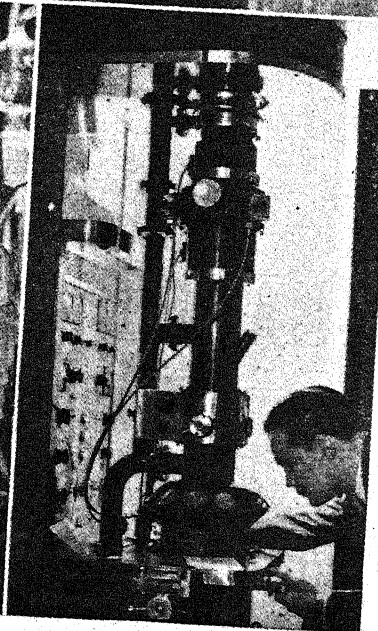
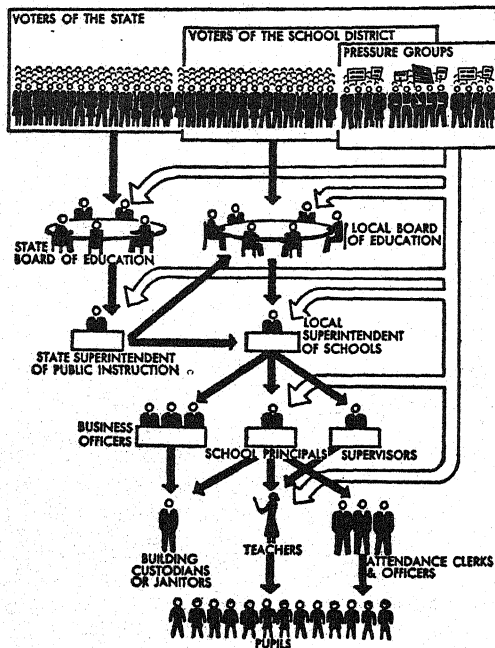
The local tax support of schools varies with the economic resources of the area and with the tradition of the people to tax themselves for education. Because of the inequality in the tax base, there is a growing tendency to establish an equalization fund at the state

1 *Ibid.*, p. 96. Reprinted by permission.

2 Taken from "News of Project Talent," in *A National Inventory of Aptitudes and Abilities*, a bulletin published by the University of Pittsburgh Project Talent Office, Washington, D. C., June, 1960. For a report of a similar project conducted in four Texas communities, *see* Carson McGuire and Associates, *Talented Behavior in Junior High Schools*, Final Report, Project No. 025 (supported through the Co-operative Research Program of the U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), the University of Texas, Austin, August, 1960.

3 From p. 1 of *A Study of the Interrelations of Aptitude, Ability, Personality, and Background Factors in a National Sample of Adolescents*, a paper based upon *Project Talent*, which was presented by John C. Flanagan of the University of Pittsburgh, at the International Congress on Psychology, Bonn, Germany, August 2, 1960.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

5 "Education of Gifted Children in the Nation's Schools," *SRA Guidance Newsletter*, Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois, October, 1957.

Both industry and government have turned to universities and to research institutes for basic investigation, findings of which sometimes have practical application. The university is no longer a place just for students and teachers. They have had to move over for contract workers and grant recipients. Some critics wonder if they have moved too far. (Top, KLM, Royal Dutch Airlines; Bottom left and right, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey)

Authority, responsibility, and pressures in our public school system. (Pictorial Statistics, Inc. Based on Phi Delta Kappa, Teaching as a Man's Job)

level. Setting standards and providing supervisors or consultants have been corollary functions of the state departments of education. As control increases, the freedom of the local boards to manage education as they see fit is curtailed.

Federal financing of education has been accompanied by few strings and controls but they are not wholly absent. The first federal help came in land grants as early as 1785. In 1862, the Morrill Act gave specific support to state agricultural and mechanical colleges. In 1958, the National Defense Education Act[1] provided funds for the training of counselors and for upgrading the preparation of teachers of mathematics, the sciences, and foreign languages. Each expansion of federal support of education is accompanied by loud, if not long, political debate. To what extent should the federal government assist in the construction of school buildings, in the provision of scholarship aid to students who cannot afford higher education, and in the subsidy of curricula which appear to be of special importance to national defense?

A system of education which started out giving full control to local districts is increasingly centralized at the state and federal levels. Standards have risen with these trends. Nevertheless, the debate has persisted concerning who should control the structure and functions of education.

This furor indicates that even in the United States the institutions of education are not separate from the culture of which they are a part. A comparable struggle for control is to be found in the operation of our hospitals, highway systems, and welfare programs. The cry is louder with respect to education because schools are entrusted with instruction of youth, not only in "innocent" subjects but also in social attitudes and values. As the chart at the right indicates, there are many groups and functionaries telling our schools what to teach and how to do it, from the local board, to the state superintendent, to the pressure groups, which get into the act at every level.

The control of teaching the young was also close to the people in tribal society. There was no argument, however, since the culture was relatively stable and unified. What the young needed to know was agreed upon by everyone. This is not so in our culture. The tug-of-war for thought and financial control of education reflects the disparate trends in society generally. Our school system which started out to be pluralistic with every local district its own master is now subject to as many conflicting trends as social change has brought to the entire culture.

Informal organization of the schools

Lines of control, though complex and conflicting enough when depicted on the formal chart above are even more so when the informal structure of the school is added to the picture.

> In the larger schools, the student population is divided into numerous cliques, gangs, and other informal and diffuse groupings; it is sharply age-graded; it has many formal organizations and special extracurricular activities.[2]

[1] For a discussion of the full scope of this Act, *see School Life,* vol. 41, pp. 1–36, October–November, 1958. There were numerous federal "assists" to education enacted between the earlier dates given above and the National Defense Education Act.

Aid to research is a new, important, and little opposed way for the Federal Government to help the schools and other agencies meet the need of more rapid scientific development. For a summary of this recent trend, *see Federal Funds for Science; VIII. The Federal Research and Development Budget, Fiscal Years 1958, 1959, and 1960,* National Science Foundation, Washington, D. C., 1959.

[2] Williams, *op. cit.,* p. 85. Reprinted by permission.

Just as Belknap [1] and Stanton and Schwartz [2] found a dual system of control in a hospital, so the school has its lines of communication which never appear on an organizational chart. Sociometric techniques have been used successfully to indicate preferential association among children.[3] Without such studies the teacher may be quite unaware that certain boys and girls are isolated from communication with the others, while much of the informal socializing in the school rotates around the personalities of the chosen few. Furthermore, the "leader" in the classroom may be a hanger-on or an isolate in his peer group on the playground.

Research on peer group choices. In an effort to discover why children prefer the ones they do in the informal relations of the school, Dahlke summarizes a number of studies. First, he examines one of the expected correlations:

> The first effort is to find out whether there is any relationship between economic class or status group of the chooser and the economic class or status group of the chosen. Obviously, there will be a scatter of votes for children in every position in the social structure, but is there any trend? . . . Unfortunately, studies do not agree and show all sorts of variation. In one fifth and sixth grade, Neugarten concludes that children concentrate their positive choices on their own status level or upon a higher level, with the exception of the low-status children. The conclusions from a study in Brasstown, located in New England, are as follows: In-school choices are less along class lines than out-of-school choices; in-school choices are least along class bias in the first grade; in the fourth and sixth grade there is a tendency to stay within one's class; in grade 8 this tendency falls off; rejection was in favor of the upper group and against the working class, though 20 per cent of the children studied said "there was no one whom they did not like." This study also showed that children, in order to discriminate according to social class, must know or become aware of class symbols. Throughout the grades there is a gradual growth of awareness of such symbols, becoming more explicit by the sixth grade and completed by the eighth. In Mill City a very moderate relationship was found for positive choices between the economic class of chooser and that of chosen. . . . Rejections tended to be similar. A very slight tendency for mutual friends to come from families of similar occupational levels was found by Potashin. Finally, in a study of a seventh grade in a suburban community near Flint, Michigan, no relationship was found between parental occupation and friendship patterns. Our conclusion is that on the elementary school level economic class is a factor but not a decisive one. The choice patterns in the school tended to be more democratic than those made outside.[4]

That children do show preferences at an early age is a point of agreement in the various studies, but the agreement stops there. The background factors which account for these preferential choices are undetermined. Not only were class or status group correlations difficult to establish, but also other factors have been considered.

> Many other variables have been tested to find out whether they affect friendship choices. Such analysis has included the factors of chronological age, mental age, intelligence quotient, height, weight, and scholastic achievement. Results of these investigations are inconsistent. Correlations are usually so low as to have little or no significance. Such trait analysis, moreover, cannot take into consideration the social-cultural context and the statuses that persons occupy.[5]

The reason for the lines of cohesiveness or of division among children in a school is still inconclusive. What we do know for certain is that this informal association, reflecting the preferences of children in their peer groups, may cast quite a different shadow from the one of the formal structure of the school.

Dahlke summarizes this devisive possibility as follows:

> If the informal order is organized in the manner analyzed, then as far as the operation of the school is concerned it is an irrational factor. It is a disturbing, tension-creating system that deflects the school from achieving its ends. It is dissociative, a war of striving, struggling cliques, triads, dyads, or isolates.[6] . . .
>
> That this informal order is disturbing to the whole school is well recognized. In an Ohio high school it was claimed that the secret societies, which were eventually abolished, rigged elections, sabotaged school functions, and created competing factions.[7] . . . Obviously, there are schools today in which the informal social order does not function as we have examined it, but the evidence supports the contrary tendency.[8]

1 Ivan Belknap, *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital*, The Blakiston Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1956.

2 Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital*, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1954.

3 For studies in sociometry, *see* C. J. Couch, "Self-Attitudes and Degree of Agreement with Immediate Others," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 63, pp. 491–496, March, 1958; J. B. Gittler and D. H. Harper, "Measuring the Awareness of the Problem of Group Hostility," *Social Forces*, vol. 34, pp. 163–167, December, 1955; and R. M. Powell and L. LaFave, "Some Determinants of Role-Taking Accuracy," *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 42, pp. 319–326, May, 1958.

4 H. Otto Dahlke, *Values in Culture and Classroom*, pp. 329–331, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1958. Reprinted by permission.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 334–35. Reprinted by permission.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 349.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 350.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 350–351.

Cleavages among the staff. Informal lines of communication are not limited to the children of the school. "The teaching staff is likewise organized into cliques and factions and is graded into prestige ranks and placed in a hierarchy of authority. . . ." [1] If, for example, a classroom teacher is in disagreement with the stand taken by the school principal on methods of discipline,[2] she may avoid discussing individual cases with him. Instead, she seeks counsel from another staff member whose view is more in agreement with hers. The potential conflict between the advice she secures informally and the official position of the administration may never become open.

A formal organization tolerates much undercurrent of informal discussion if it remains covert and does not challenge authority. Nevertheless, the goal of most administrators is the alignment of informal communication with the official policies of the institution. This organizational utopia is occasionally achieved if formal and informal lines are kept open and if the officials accept disagreement from staff members without repaying them with punitive attitudes or actions. The sociologist is interested in watching these two systems of communication and their structured relationships operate. The formal and the informal can, of course, be examined in any organization, not just schools, for a formal system is almost always accompanied by an informal one.

School, family, and community

Though the school is a separate and specialized institution, it is related to family and community [3] in many ways, as we have seen.

1) The use of schooling for upward social mobility reflects a pressure from parents and from community norms back of them.

2) The control of school policy is largely in the hands of lay boards who are an integral part of the community.

3) The local tax support of public schools is an index of community interest in education.

4) The informal controls among students and staff within a school reflect outside values.

The culture of school and community is integrated in the above ways. Nevertheless, Francis Chase is a little alarmed at the uncritical approval of education by people who know little of what actually goes on within the schools:

> The American people have an almost childlike faith in education. In studies conducted in many communities the results are always the same: if asked what they think of their schools, some 75 per cent of the general public will indicate support of the current school program in varying degrees. . . .
>
> Upon closer examination this apparently heartening factor gives cause for concern. The data showed no significant difference in the attitude of the people in communities where the schools had been rated excellent by outside experts and the attitude in those communities where outside experts had rated the schools very inferior.[4]

This naive acceptance and support of education is replaced by an antagonistic attitude when something goes wrong in the experience of a particular child. Williams explains some of the built-in differences in values which operate in the family and in the school:

> Parents and teachers seldom agree upon the standards by which the child is to be judged. Parents tend to see their children as members of the most intimate primary group, as projections of their own hopes and fears, as beings for whom they are accountable in the eyes of the community. Teachers tend to see the same children more impersonally and more nearly in terms of the school's requirements for discipline, control, scholastic achievements or other special standards. Obviously the schools could not exist at all were these divergencies complete, but because school and family thus differ, an important degree of latent or overt conflict is built into the institutional situation itself.[5]

The superintendent—an educator or a mediator. The school administrator plays a key role in the relations of school, family, and community. He is elected to his own position by community leaders who serve on the school board. He supervises the construction of new buildings and looks after other business affairs in a manner which meets the approval of local merchants and

[1] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[2] For a discussion on this conflict among teachers, administrators, and school boards, *see* "Friction Grows Among Boards, Teachers, and Administrators," *The New York Times*, May 29, 1960, p. 8E.

[3] The junior college, in addition to providing education for the youth of the locality, has often served as a center for adult education and for other community activities. The full range of this development has been explored by James W. Reynolds (The University of Texas, Austin), in the unpublished manuscript, *An Analysis of Community Service Programs of Junior Colleges.*

[4] Robert E. Sweitzer, "What They Don't Know Can Hurt You," *Administrator's Notebook*, vol. 2, pp. 1–2, Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, Chicago, November, 1953. Reprinted by permission.

[5] Williams, *op cit.*, p. 86. Reprinted by permission.

industries. He receives representatives of pressure groups who give advice about curriculum and personnel. He must decide whether or not certain patriotic organizations should be allowed to make awards at commencement time. He is held responsible if his schools do not prepare students adequately for entrance into college and university. The conflicting cultural forces of the community and the nation come to bear upon the superintendent and, through him, upon the work of the school. Harry E. Moore describes the role of the school administrator as his function involves the reconciliation of these many forces.

> Because his actions necessarily have far-reaching consequences for the community, the school administrator occupies a strategic, key position. In carrying out the duties of his position, he faces potential antagonism from the community as a whole and from special interest groups within the community. The degree to which he is able to establish and maintain satisfactory relationships with the community and its elements depends in large measure on his understanding of the matrix of community forces and values within which he must operate. Administrators commonly become adept at acquiring this understanding and maneuvering within the limitations it places on them, reconciling their professional standards to the local situation as is necessary. If they do not succeed in this, they cease to be school administrators.[1]

Linking school and community. Some schools have tried to prevent conflict from arising by forming citizens' study or advisory committees, which meet with school personnel to examine goals, curricula, and methods of instruction. Teachers may wonder why parents should be consulted about technical questions of this sort, but the administrator[2] sees in such conferences a device for keeping lines of communication free. He hopes that if mutual understanding can be developed, then the professionals will be allowed to do their daily work unmolested by petty criticism.

The right of citizens to participate almost directly in the business of the schools is true in very few other countries. The opposite model is represented by Oxford and Cambridge Universities, which are independent of community groups and of the central British government. The affairs of these universities, both business and academic, are managed by the faculties themselves. No one in the towns of Oxford and Cambridge, or, for that matter, in the entire nation, would presume to tell the faculties what and how to teach.[3]

In-between examples could be found both in Great Britain and here. Nevertheless, the United States is noted not only for the control of schools by local boards but also for the interest shown in the schools by families and community groups.[4]

A word of modification. Not every pressure group can change the curriculum of a school, and not every citizen can expect his voice to prevail, though he may pound the desk of the superintendent as he states his case. Gradually, through the years, patterns which define the role of citizens' groups and the authority of school personnel have developed. The community is learning to support education in many ways without dominating or usurping the technical function of its schools. E. T. McSwain shows how this operates with two national organizations and their community affiliates:

> The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the National Citizens Council for Better Schools demonstrate in action the constructive leadership and services which may come through the participation of lay persons in action plans to improve the schools. One of the accepted principles of each of these organizations has been to serve boards of education, school superintendents, and teachers in an advisory way and to refrain from direct involvement in the administration of the schools. The national, state and local units of these organizations have rendered assistance to public education by encouraging citizens: (a) to recognize the importance of electing competent persons to serve on the school board, (b) to keep the

[1] Harry Estill Moore, *Nine Help Themselves*, pp. 50–51, Southwestern Program in Educational Administration, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1955. Reprinted by permission. *See also* Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander A. McEachern, *Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role*, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1958.

[2] The Kellogg Foundation has given extensive grants to investigate school and community relationships and especially to study the role of the school administrator. Citations have already been made from two of these reports.

[3] Cambridge University in England and a local school system in an American community do not constitute a fair comparison. They were cited merely as a typology to show extremes. The truth of the matter is, Great Britain does have its boards of trustees in some of the other schools and colleges.

[4] In Russia another contrast in seen. There, it is not the community, but the central government which sets educational goals and procedures. Schools are not expected to be independent but are the servants of the state, only minor discretions being left to local committees.

election of school board members on a nonpartisan level, (c) to work for better school legislation, (d) to examine the accuracy of the criticisms of the schools, (e) to understand the need for adequate financial support, (f) to examine the objectives of individuals and groups who may seek to exert pressure on the school board and superintendent, (g) to study the needs and achievements of the schools, (h) to work for teaching conditions which will attract and keep highly qualified teachers, (i) to support democracy in education, and (j) to sponsor study groups and conferences on educational problems and issues.[1]

Non-tax-supported schools—a parallel structure

Parochial schools provide education from kindergarten to university and appear to parallel the public school organization. Another pattern is the nonsectarian independent school which was established originally to prepare persons for entrance to a certain college, to provide education in a remote area, or to meet some other special need.

An extensive church school system. By far the largest of the parochial school systems is the Roman Catholic. It includes 10,372 elementary schools and 2,433 high schools, which makes it the largest private school system in the world.[2] Its enrollment is more than 4 million, which represents about one-ninth of the children in the United States. In one year alone a half-billion dollars was spent on construction and $620,692,000, on operating expenses.

With very few exceptions, all of the funds for parochial schools come from private contributions and tuition charges. In about one-third of the states, free bus transportation to parochial schools is provided from tax funds. A few states also furnish health services for children in parochial schools, and several pay for the purchase of text books.

Most of the teaching in the elementary schools is done by nuns, but the growth in enrollment of these schools has required the employment of a growing number of lay teachers (29 per cent in 1959). Although these parochial schools form an extensive system, more than half of the Roman Catholic children of high school age attend public schools.

Other churches have their parochial schools but in lesser number. The greatest increase in recent years has been in schools sponsored by the Episcopal and the Lutheran churches.

With our political heritage calling for a "separation of church and state," the structure of parochial education has paralleled the public schools, but remained separate. Controversy arises when subsidies for bus service, text books, and other expenses are sought from public funds. Thus far, there has been no proposal that tax money be used for the employment of parochial teachers.

The "independent schools." These are schools which in this country are neither governmental nor parochial. They are privately financed and controlled. Although some of these schools are among our oldest and most noteworthy, all 3,000 of them enroll only 2 per cent of the total school population. Some have high standards and venerable traditions, others are weak in organization and personnel, and a few have arisen as private enterprises with profit as their goal.

Those independent schools of the "venerable tradition" were founded for the purpose of making "gentlemen" of their students and of preparing them for admission to the exclusive colleges.

For example—

> . . . . as recently as the days of the second world war, a young boy going to St. Paul School in Concord, New Hampshire, was required to bring at least seven stiff collars to wear to the evening meals. In some schools, white-jacketed servants used to carry a boy's bags to his room. And then there were the "biddies"—maids who waited on tables, made the beds, and cleaned the rooms at some boarding schools.
>
> In reality, virtually all of these practices have disappeared from independent schools. Times have changed. The white-coated servant has vanished along with the "maid" who graced many American homes. In most schools, his former work (and that of the "biddies") is done by the boys and girls themselves, often rotating in alphabetical order, regardless of whether they are on scholarships or not.[3]

The student body of the independent schools is becoming less aristocratic and more representative because of liberal scholarship

[1] Adapted from E. T. McSwain, "Who Should Guide the Public Schools?". *Educational Leadership,* vol. 24, pp. 423–424, April, 1957.

[2] *See* the "General Summary" in *The Official Catholic Directory,* p. 2 of insert, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, N. Y., 1960.

[3] From *The Independent School,* by Terry Ferrer, p. 5, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York. Reprinted by permission.

funds which assist nearly one-third of the present students. In spite of this trend, some independent schools are still thought of as serving the upper stratum of our society. Since the parents have an interest in the independent schools which their children attend, they are alleged to give little leadership in the support of public education.

The positive function of independent schools was explained by Samuel M. Brownell, while he was serving as U. S. Commissioner of Education. He said that,

> The nation's approximately 3,000 independent schools symbolize a truly American freedom of choice in learning, a desire for specialization, and citizen acceptance of responsibility for education, independent of that provided in the public school system.[1]

In structure, the independent schools are governed by self-perpetuating boards of trustees, who assume responsibility for raising funds from private sources. In academic affairs the trustees perform a function somewhat similar to the board of a public school, namely, selecting the headmaster and stipulating broad policies regarding personnel and curriculum. The residential schools obviously require much larger capital investment than do the day schools or the special version of them, the country day schools.

A new era is dawning in the relation between independent and public schools, as Ferrer points out:

> In past years, the independent school man had somewhat vague relationships with the high-school principal. The two, as a matter of fact, seldom met one another. The principal felt that the headmaster was out to corner the market on college admissions for his students, and that he looked down on the public school. The headmaster thought that the principal had mass problems which bore no relation to the smaller numbers in the independent schools.
>
> Important steps have been taken to heal the breach. Nearly every independent school administrator belongs to a public education association, in most cases a department of the National Education Association. At most public school conventions, such as that of the American Association of School Administrators, independent headmasters will be present in numbers and vitally interested in what they now realize are mutual problems. The Headmasters' Association, founded in 1893, has had both public and private school membership from the beginning and now has a membership of 25 public school principals (one is president) and 75 independent school heads. Some frictions still exist in many parts of the country, however, and it is only recently that some of the church (denominational) schools also have felt the need to cooperate with the other two branches of American secondary education. All three now are seeking to work together. . . .[2]

No one of the three patterns in American education—the public school, the parochial school, or the independent school—can claim to be the most advanced, the most rigorous, or the most efficient as an educational instrument of our society.[3] At one time or another, innovations have been made in one system which have stimulated the other two. The interaction is inventive and competitive. Neither of the other two patterns seriously challenges the fact that the big task of education rests with public schools, whose support comes from taxation and whose control is "in the hands of the people."

To integrate—sooner, or later, or never!

"Schools for all children and youth" is a cultural theme of education in the United States as reported on page 271. Though nearly all people are committed to schools for all, many have advocated "separate but equal" schools for the white and colored races. And then came the Supreme Court decision in 1954. The resulting repercussions in social change and in resistance to change will be felt for decades. The decision itself was only one step in a long process.

Communities have acted and reacted in a multitude of ways since the 1954 ruling. One school district after another has been ordered by Federal District Courts to begin integration within a certain period of months. Other localities have taken the initiative without court order. Many have resisted with legal maneuvers, with public demonstrations, and with rioting.[4] While this has been a prime

[1] From introduction by S. M. Brownell, *ibid.*, inside cover.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27. Reprinted by permission.

[3] In addition to this question of type, inventiveness, and standards of various school programs, we do see that in certain states the sheer force of numbers make the independent and the parochial schools a factor to be reckoned with in any analysis of education. For example, the New York State Education Department indicates that the growth of the private and parochial schools is at a slightly higher rate than that of public schools and that during the year 1959, the private and parochial educated 23½% of all elementary and secondary pupils in New York State. *See* "Private Schools Growing Faster," *The New York Times*, September 18, 1960, p. 78.

[4] The New Orleans School Board, a group of militant women whose placard-carrying front ranks call themselves the "Cheerleaders," the State Legislature of Louisiana, and the Federal Courts carried on verbal warfare for weeks (and sometimes eggs and rocks flew as well) over the attempt in the fall of 1960 to integrate two of the schools. For a while the boycott of these schools by white children was nearly 100% as a handful of primary-grade colored girls "attended classes" as the only students. A minister organized a countermovement in an effort to encourage the parents of white children to drive through the picket lines to take their children

The number of desegregated schools is increasing. (From "Children in a Changing World," *prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth)*

opportunity for research on social change, little has been conducted and almost none reported. Less formal observations are numerous. Here is the statement of a school administrator who experienced the problem in one community and observed it in many others.

Every school person will probably have a different notion as to what school people have learned about integration. The answer depends upon the locality, tradition and past experiences of the school people concerned.

Examples of divergent reactions within a given locality are apparent to even the most casual observer. Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee, are located only six miles apart; yet in Oak Ridge desegregation occurred with a minimum of outward turmoil, while Clinton was the center of intense disturbances. Louisville, Kentucky, evolved one of the smoothest transitions from segregated schools to complete integration; yet the school officials of Clay and Sturgis, Kentucky, were faced with violent opposition to the same issue. In the state of Arkansas several schools peacefully integrated while in Hoxie and Little Rock the reaction has been one of strong resistance. In each community local school people have learned about a small segment of the larger picture of integration.

There appears to be limited evidence, that if integration is to occur, it will proceed on a more peaceful basis when conducted from a voluntary plan rather than a court order. Examples of peaceful voluntary desegregation are found in Louisville, Kentucky, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. More publicized examples of court-ordered integration and turmoil are symbolized by Clay and Sturgis, Kentucky; Clinton and Nashville, Tennessee; Mansfield, Texas; Little Rock and Hoxie, Arkansas. Of course many people argue that nationwide integration will never occur unless the Federal Courts force it upon communities.[1]

to school. The city government supported the school board through the efforts of its police department to keep the picketers and rioters from going to extremes. The conflict of personalities and groups in this struggle was in these ways a reflection of the conflict among the different parts of the social structure. An account of the struggle is available in *The New York Times,* December 4, 1960, p. E3.

[1] David J. Brittain, "What School People Have Learned About Integration," *Educational Leadership,* vol. 15, p. 447, May, 1958. Reprinted by permission.

The same school principal speaks more specifically of his experience in a community where trouble flared:

The writer has often been asked, "What are the problems within a desegregated school?" In the case of Clinton High School, internal problems were created by adults outside of the school. It was reported by several white students that they were encouraged to start fights with Negro boys. In November of 1956, an organized group of white teenagers started wearing large badges with the slogan "Keep White Schools White" imprinted upon them. There were about 25 students involved in this activity and it lasted for about three weeks.

The faculty of Clinton High School followed a policy of patience in dealing with students of divergent beliefs in regard to integration. However, patience alone did not solve all problems. Decisions were made on each individual problem on a basis of respect for the rights of individual students without overlooking the welfare of the total school population.

Students in Clinton High School played an important role in the integration process. As early as 1950, when Negroes first applied for admission, students were allowed to discuss the issue of desegregation in a free and open manner. Opinions were formed by students during the discussions. These discussions were continued throughout the years before actual integration. Eventually the students "talked themselves out" and, as a group, accepted the responsibilities involved.

Throughout the first year of integration (1956–57) the majority of the students conducted themselves in an exemplary manner. During the period of heavy turmoil outside of the school building most of the students went peacefully about their business. The student council and the football team were outstanding in leading the other students in their respect for the rights of others. Early in the school year the student body went on record favoring obedience to the court order in regard to integration. School people will be well advised to encourage students to participate in planning for integration.[1]

Conflict between racial groups is by no means limited to the South. Just as the bloodiest of race riots have occurred in Chicago and Detroit, so outbursts of racial violence in schools have taken place in northern and eastern cities as well as in communities of the South. Situations which might be regarded as conflict-prone wherever they exist are those in which:

1) There is a rapid integration of approximately equal numbers of children from two racial groups in one school.

2) The parents of the children are from low level educational and economic backgrounds.

3) The parents of the children of one race are from a low-level, and the parents of the children from the other race are from a high level of educational and economic backgrounds.

4) Other factors of instability prevail, such as uncertainty of employment, and a history of previous conflict between racial groups in the use of public transportation, recreation facilities, and housing.

5) Leaders arise who define the situation in conflict terms. They invent stereotypes based upon already existing fears.

Communities in which most of these and additional predisposing conditions exist may expect difficulty with school integration. In reality, there are few communities in which the first condition prevails. Only in the larger, industrial cities, where housing in deteriorated areas has brought racial groups close together, is any one school area likely to have an equal number of children from two racial groups. In all southern cities which have integrated their schools, the percentage of colored children attending a predominantly white school or the number of white children enrolled in a predominantly colored school is low, usually from 1 to 10 per cent.

The schools illustrate most effectively the interrelationship of different parts of the social structure—especially when a pattern such as integration arises. The tugging and pulling of conflicting norms present in the larger culture reappear in the admission procedures of the schools, in the intergroup and interpersonal relations of students in the schools, and in the opposing pressures which cause superintendents to resign prematurely and school boards to remain locked in heated session hour after hour. Consequently, to integrate—now, later, or never—with all that these decisions imply, is not a question for schools to work out alone. It is as basic as any problem facing our society. To complicate matters still more, the problem does not remain within the limits of the nation but extends to our international relations with Asia, Africa, and other race-conscious lands.

The chart-makers who summarized trends for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth prepared the diagram on page 282.

A box score on happenings in school integration and segregation is reported monthly by *Southern School News*, published in Nashville, Tennessee. It reported in May, 1960,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 479–480. Reprinted by permission.

that, "Out of the region's total 3,039,133 Negro students, 524,425 of them attend schools in districts that have desegregation either in practice or principle."[1] Only a tiny percentage of these half million Negro students were actually attending schools which were predominantly white. The Negro children are still free to attend schools which are predominantly colored, and in general this is what they are doing. The same publication reports all legal action by state and community with respect to integration-segregation.

The creation of this news service is itself an interesting social development in a nation whose democratic institutions call for the participation of all citizens in decision-making. The editors try to provide the facts for such decisions. We should not slip into a naive position, however, by assuming that emotionally-held stereotypes will not also play their part in group decisions.

Leaders in some states have proposed that an alternative to integration and the Supreme Court act would be the complete abolition of public schools. In their place would arise an extension of the private school systems described on p. 280. Such schools with private charters would determine their own admission practices. Some southern leaders have thought that there might be indirect techniques for giving tax subsidy to such privately-controlled schools. A movement counter to this proposal has also arisen. Its position appears in the leaflet, *Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools*,[2] which is signed by thirty-three southern educators, principally college or university presidents and deans.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has spearheaded many of the demonstrations and legal actions calling for integration. White Citizens' Councils, which have been formed in various southern states, have led the demonstrations and legal actions in favor of segregation. No one has taken credit or blame for the dynamitings and riots which have occurred, but arrests have been made by local enforcement officers with a number of prosecutions resulting.

A new development in the analysis of the integration-segregation question has been proposed by a group of some 150 young psychiatrists who are members of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. In their publication, *Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation*,[3] as the title suggests, the awkward behavior of people in a conflict situation is more complex than it seems. Also, the damage to the personality of participants in such conflicts is more than a surface scar.

In summary, many aspects of social change are epitomized in the interracial situation affecting the schools of the North and the South. The references at the close of the chapter will cite the all too few objective studies which social scientists have found time to make in this laboratory situation at their doorstep.

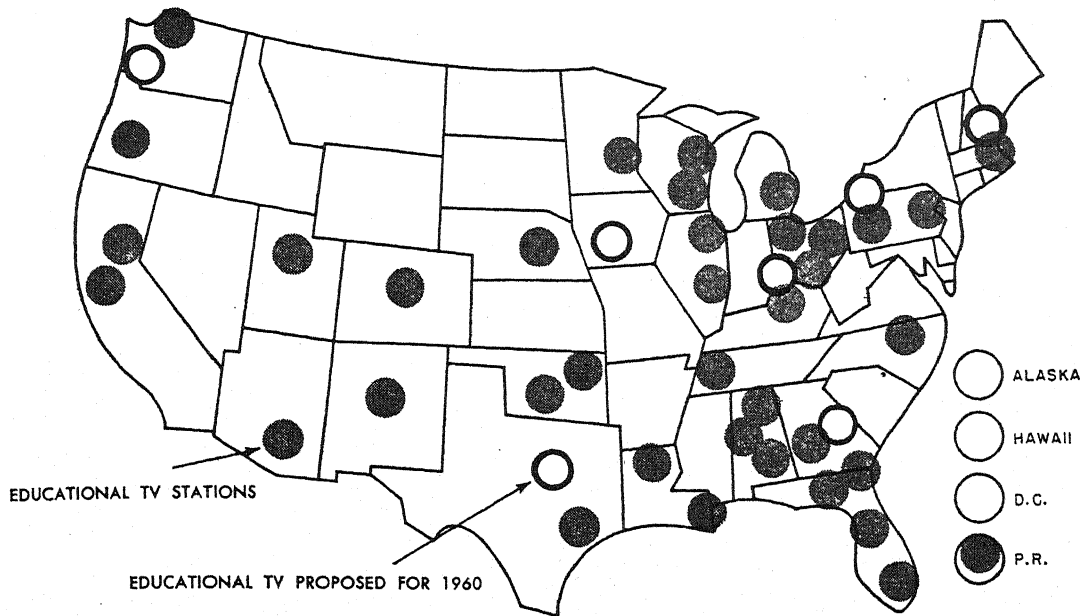
Education beyond the classroom

That parents are partners in education has long been an accepted truism. Likewise, the importance of peer group influences in the development of values and attitudes related to education has been documented with research findings. What has not been as fully defined is the ever increasing impact of mass media communication.

Education from the skies. Newest on the air waves horizon is educational television. And the horizon itself is less limited than formerly. In 1961, an airplane, circling at high altitude over north central Indiana, started to bring educational broadcasts to schools and colleges in a six-state area. Recorded on video tape, the courses are transmitted to all schools or anyone else who wishes to receive them. The experiment, known as the Midwest Program on Airborne Television Instruction, was made possible by grants from the Ford Foundation to the Learning Resources Institute.

Ground stations' telecasts. Continental Classroom, another mass media activity of the Learning Resources Institute, started with a course in "Modern Chemistry," which was carried in 1959–60 as a credit offering by 200 colleges with a viewing audience of 525,000 and a student audience of 3,000. The broadcasts were from regular stations. In the fall of 1960, the Institute presented a similar course in mathematics at an early morning hour, which was broadcast by hundreds of commercial television stations as an educational contribution.

[1] *Southern School News*, vol. 6, p. 1, May, 1960.
[2] *Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools?*. December, 1959. No publisher is listed. Copies are available from the 33 signers.
[3] *Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation; A Report by Psychiatrists*, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, New York, 1960.

(*Taken from "Children in a Changing World," prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth*)

Educational television, broadcast from ground antennae, has increased rapidly in recent years, as the following statement and the above chart indicate.

The educational use of radio and television showed substantial gains during the school year 1957–58. Eight educational FM radio stations completed within the year brought the total on the air to 201, and the number of educational television stations increased from 29 to 32, with 4 others nearing completion at the end of 1958.

The increasing emphasis on direct teaching use of television was especially significant. Over 600 credit courses—elementary and high school courses for in-school viewing and high school, college, and adult education courses for home viewing—were broadcast on television in 1957–58, an increase of nearly 50 per cent over the preceding year. More than 60 city school systems used air time made available to them by local commercial TV stations for broadcasting school subjects.

Research and experience have shown that audio-visual aids, particularly television and films, when used by capable teachers as a supplement to classroom instruction, make teaching more effective. Radio and television can also be used effectively by administrators, local boards, and others to present their ideas to the local community and to gain support for school programs.[1]

Television instruction has been tried as a means of replacing classroom teaching, but more frequently it is used to supplement the work of the teacher. Rigorous experimentation in both methods is needed before conclusions about relative effectiveness can be reached. Television as a supplement to personal instruction is a less radical departure because the classroom teacher is already accustomed to using many types of visual materials as aids.[2] The big issue is whether or not the teacher shortage can be solved and the quality of education increased by using television viewing as a replacement for the classroom work.[3]

The Joint Committee for Educational Television led the appeal before the Federal Communications Commission in 1952 which resulted in the allocation of 245 channels for noncommercial, educational use. Because the cost of constructing a station is about a quarter of a million dollars and a similar

[1] Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[2] Closed circuit television is also developing rapidly as an aid to teaching. Students in twenty classrooms or in the laboratories can come closer to the detailed operation of an experiment in biology than if only ten students crowd around the teacher's laboratory table. Or, the specialist can appear on closed circuit television to discuss a subject which may serve as a supplement to the work of the students in their own classroom. Innumerable adaptations of closed circuit television as visual aids are being tried and evaluated.

[3] The pros and cons of this issue can be heard in almost any gathering of educators or of mass media specialists. *See*, for example, Hollis L. Caswell, "A Curriculum Viewpoint on Educational Television," *Educational Leadership*, vol. 15, pp. 107–115, November, 1957.

amount is needed for its annual operation, the number of stations which spot the map is still limited. Communities within a broadcast wave length are combining to finance the effort and to plan the programs.

The structure of American education may be altered drastically by this technological development, but the impact has been slower to arrive than some prophets predicted. No doubt, more extensive and varied use will come each year as stimulus is given through foundation grants and through local, co-operative financing.

Television entertainment—its impact, educational or otherwise. For some time to come, the most extensive mass audience will be that of the commercial television stations. A survey of a community in New Jersey indicated that on a weekday evening nine out of every ten sets are tuned in and that the average length of time the sets remain on is 4 hours and 15 minutes. "In weekday evening viewing alone, the average housewife watches 13.9 hours a week; husbands 13.1 hours; children under 10 watch 8.5 hours; and children from 10 to 18 watch 11.7 hours."[1] In a large city with one million television sets, as many as 50 per cent of them may be tuned in for a single program during an evening viewing hour.[2]

Many parents and teachers and their organizations are alarmed at the quality of programs which millions of children watch in the late afternoon and early evening hours. The commercial networks have made an attempt to set their house in order by limiting the amount and type of sadism and other forms of violence and chicanery which are portrayed in the westerns and in the detective shows. On the positive side, they have increased the number of public affairs programs of educational significance and have given better timing to them.

A knowledge of the exact impact of commercial television, radio, and movies on the formation of social attitudes, values, and knowledge of children, youth and adults, still awaits definitive studies. We already know that the structure, norms, and daily routine of family life have been affected by the central position given television in many homes. In addition to its alleged negative values, television has exposed children to the other cultures of the world, to diction which is constantly improving in quality, and to certain programs whose teaching value may equal the best in the school.

In the educational interest of children, mass media may be regulated more rigorously by the public agencies as research studies yield accurate appraisals of the effects on the child's development.

Education beyond the classroom is not limited to mass media but includes other new patterns. Work service camps bring youth into direct contact with the reality of other people's problems. Some of the work projects are located in the midst of subculture groups such as a nationality island in an industrial slum area. Other projects bring youth close to the problems of peoples in distant countries. These experiences are supervised by adults who serve as educational leaders of this new form of direct learning.[3]

Student tours to other parts of the United States and to other lands is another well-established pattern. The ease of travel is greater and the cost less than ever before because of special facilities for student groups. Summer employment and part-time work during the school year are among other experiences which have educational significance. Some leaders who want to meet problems of juvenile delinquency through positive measures think that greater attention should be given to work experiences for youth. Two approaches are advocated: one is the extension of employment service to find part-time jobs and full-time summer employment for students. The other approach is advocated by persons who remember the work camps of the Civilian Conservation Corps and of the National Youth Administration of the depression '30s. They saw youth taken from the economically impoverished area to engage in construction work in the state and national parks or to hold paying jobs in schools and community agencies in their own home towns. The possibility of reviving such patterns or of seriously regarding part-time employment as educational has not been investigated fully, and only a few demonstration projects have been started.

[1] Jack Mabley, *What Educational TV Offers You,* Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 203, The Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, February, 1954.

[2] *Ibid,* p. 3.

[3] In 1961 President Kennedy's Youth PeaCe Corps; called upon young people through "personal sacrifice" to work in other lands on whatever local problems, the solution to which would promote international understanding.

The structure of higher education

Volumes are needed on the subject of the sociological significance of educational organization at the higher levels. Fortunately, they are available. Social scientists, in general, and sociologists, in particular, have discovered the campus community and the institution of higher education as appropriate objects of study. The Southern Regional Education Board, the New England Board of Higher Education, the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, the Carnegie Corporation, and other agencies, as well as colleges themselves, are sponsoring research on many problems in higher education.

One of the first of the studies, *The Academic Man,* by Logan Wilson, looked at the social structure of the college and university, with special emphasis upon its values, stratification, and elements of competition. Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, in *The Academic Marketplace,*[1] examine the motives, strategies, and rewards of professors.

Other studies have focused on the student and the atmosphere of the campus as it relates to their achievement. John W. Gustad made an interesting nation-wide study of faculty members who had left the teaching profession. His study throws new light on methods of selection of faculty members and on the structure which provides for (or fails to provide for) orientation, communication, and recognition.[2] Psychologist Robert Pace has developed a "cultural atmosphere index" for measuring college environments. General treatises by Edward D. Eddy, Jr. and Philip E. Jacob deal with various aspects of student life.[3] We call attention to these studies but cannot pause to review them. This was done at the Andover Conference, which was called by the Social Science Research Council[4] and also at the symposium conference, "Personality Factors on the College Campus," held at The University of Texas in 1960.[5]

Many of the conflicting norms encountered by public schools can be seen on the college campus with other complicating factors added for good measure. For the student in sociology who wants to study the educational process of which he himself is a part, the references given will direct him to an ample source of material.

A final word to the sociologist

Orville G. Brim, Jr.,[6] maintains that the schools offer outstanding research possibilities to the sociologist, and, in turn, the findings can be of value to the educator. Brim has prepared a concise statement of his view on the relationship of the two fields:

> For the sociologist, the formal educational system of this country constitutes what is probably his richest and most accessible natural source of raw data on personality and social interaction; it needs only to be systematically mined by careful research. For the educator, the important issues he faces in his daily work center almost without exception on interpersonal relations—between teachers, between pupils, between teacher and pupil, between faculty and community—and the continuing attention of the sociologist to such issues cannot fail to illuminate and sharpen one's understanding of these specific social processes.[7]

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1 Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace,* Basic Books, Inc., New York. 1958.

2 *See* John W. Gustad, *The Career Decisions of College Teachers,* Southern Regional Education Board, Atlanta, Ga., 1960.

3 *See,* for example, Edward D. Eddy, Jr., *The College Influence on Student Character,* American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1959; and Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College,* Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1957.

4 The Conference on Research on College Influences on Personality was held March 26–28, 1959, at Andover, Massachusetts.

5 Report by the same title published by the Hogg Foundation, University of Texas, 1961.

6 Orville G. Brim, Jr., *Sociology and the Field of Education,* Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1958. *See also* Joseph S. Roucek, "The Roots of American Educational Sociology," *American Catholic School Review,* vol. 17, pp. 195–205, October, 1956.

7 Brim, *op. cit.,* p. 7. Reprinted by permission.

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Chapter 19

Social Structure in Economic and Political Life

An Economy—Not of Abundance

The most pronounced feature of this dietary is its alternation between hunger and plenty, a characteristic common to African peoples in areas where the distribution of rain allows only one season of cultivation a year, and where one staple crop is relied upon. In this territory the existence of a definite scarcity is noticed at once by the most casual observer. The Bemba constantly talk about "hunger months" as distinguished from the food months . . . When the scarcity becomes marked the whole appearance of village life is changed. For adults meals are reduced from two to one a day, and beer is rarely if ever brewed. Children who seem to munch extras all day long in the plentiful season (April to October) are reduced to a single dish late in the day. . . . most adult natives can remember occasions when they went two days without food, and "sat in the hut and drank water and took snuff."

* * *

In every society there is some method of gathering or producing goods which people need for subsistence, along with standard patterns for distribution. Variation in what people want, how much they want, and why, is great. For example, compare the above description of the Bembas in Rhodesia with the Kwakiutl, an Indian tribe located along the coast of British Columbia. The latter went beyond a subsistence economy to a complex set of values which were satisfied through the "conspicuous consumption" of goods.

An Economy of Conspicuous Consumption

During the Kwakiutl potlatch, literally thousands of valuable blankets were burned, several canoes broken, and a slave killed to establish a chief's prestige. At African upper-class funerals, the goods placed in the grave of a family head or of a chief, or given to participants outside the family, or destroyed, represent substantial wealth. The houses of Samoan chiefs reflect the position of their owners. The degree of elegance associated with a structure is determined by the elaborateness with which those who built it were entertained while engaged in this work. Clothing differentials that mark rank are common—the Ashanti chief ceremonially wears a silk cloth of exclusive pattern, the commoner wears one of cotton. The elaborateness of religious rites is also a part of the complex of conspicuous consumption, and represents the allocation of surplus goods to those who control this aspect of a culture.

* * *

Consider, next, the interweaving of the economic customs of the Hopi, mesa Indians of the Southwest, with other patterns in their culture. This point which the Hopis illustrate about the integration of institutions will be discussed later in the chapter.

The Economy of the Hopi Indians

They [the Hopi] live in rectangular, flat roofed houses of sandstone built on the mesas high above

"An Economy—Not of Abundance" (headings are ours) is from A. I. Richards, *Land, Labour, and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 35–36, Oxford University Press, London, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

"An Economy of Conspicuous Consumption" is from Melville J. Herskovits, *Cultural Anthropology*, revised edition, p. 164, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1955. Reprinted by permission.

"The Economy of the Hopi Indians" is from "American Indian Cultures," by Robert H. Lowie, in *American Mercury*, vol. 20, p. 263, July, 1930. Reprinted by permission.

the level of the desert. The men not only raise corn, but weave cloth and make moccasins—an employment that on the Plains would stamp them as mollycoddles. . . . On the other hand, pottery—the outstanding art industry—is wholly in the hands of the women. It is their duty further to grind corn in stone handmills and to cook. They also own the houses—and thereby hangs a tale. When a man marries, he goes to live with his wife in her mother's house. Her sisters also bring their husbands to the same or adjacent houses. The children take the mother's clan name and are associated with whatever sacred objects and ceremonies happen to be linked with their mother's household. When a sacred office is passed on, it goes, not to a son, but to a younger brother or a sister's son—for these are the members of the original incumbent's clan while his own son would not be.

Nevertheless, males are not trodden under foot, at least, no more so than among other folk. A man divorced by his wife has to leave her house, but he has a legal claim for shelter on his mother and sisters. Further, while he is prevented from marrying more than one wife at a time, it is easy to pass progressively from one spouse to another. As for government, no one has ever heard of a female Hopi chief, and ceremonially, while the women have some dances, the more important rites are wholly in the custody of the men.[1]

* * *

We are still talking about the economic life of a people when we turn from cloth weaving, pottery molding, and corn grinding of the Hopis to a capsule glimpse of mass production in an industrial society. Here technology looms important.

"Fighting the Line"

Pride in work is a usual characteristic of the skilled worker. In the auto industry this pride is restricted to the tool-and-die makers, a few similar categories of workers, and a very few production workers whose native ingenuity overcomes the drabness of their work. Along the winding assembly lines, where the bulk of the workers do their job, skill and pride are neither present nor necessary, for the rationalization of mass production has taken both out of work. As a rule, there are few jobs in which a man cannot be taught how to "break in and make out" within three days. . . .

The whole point of assembly-line production can be summarized in one word: rationalization. If, for example, there are 100 operations to be performed, ten men trained to perform ten operations each can do the job in, say, x units of time. But if 100 men are available they can each be trained to do one simplified operation, with the result that their speed is increased and the total unit of time for doing the job may be cut to three-fourths, say, of the time it took before. . . . In terms of production [it means] efficiency; in terms of the human being [it means] depersonalization, robotization, and a sense of alienation from the total productive process.

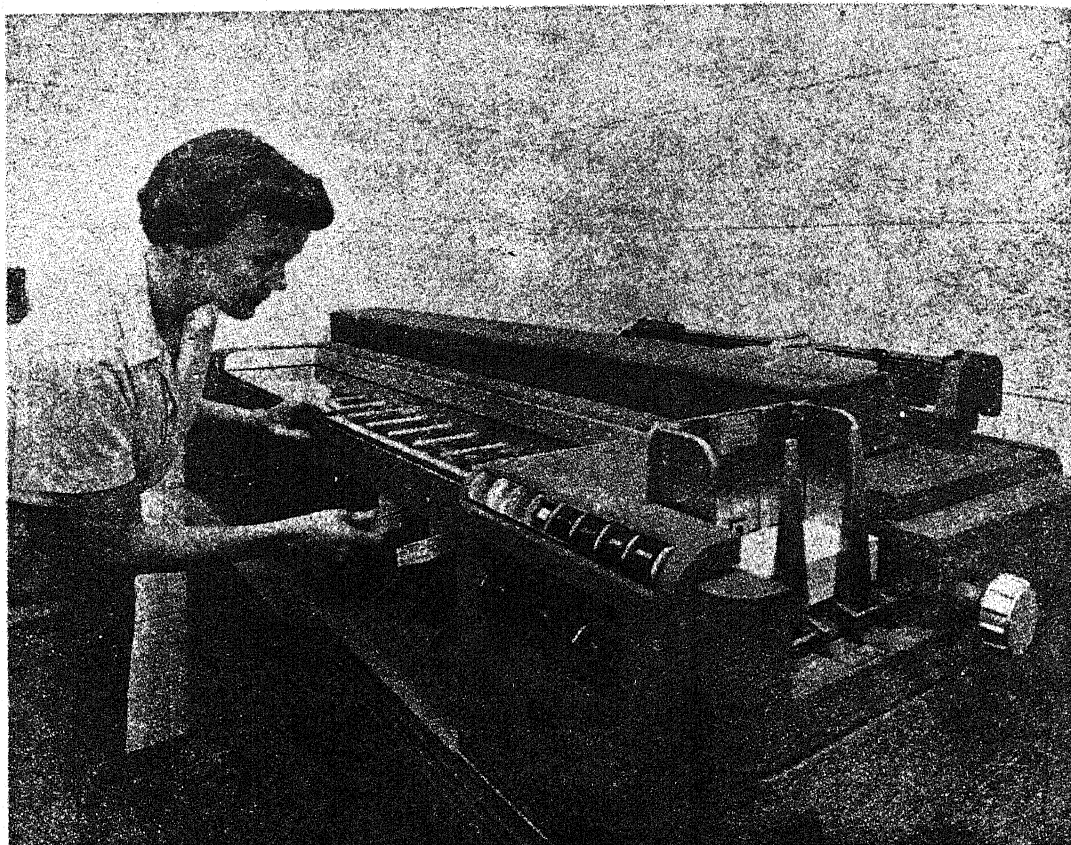
As an illustration, let us take the trim or body assembly line. . . . The bare steel bodies are put on the line, two rails along which the body-rests are driven by a conveyor-belt. The assembly line may stretch for 100 to 400 yards, and along it there may be as many as 300 men working. Some crews put on the glass; others tack on the head-lining; some put in the seats, and still others attach chrome moldings. The bodies move along at a rate of forty to sixty an hour.

In another part of the plant the chassis line operates. From a skeleton chassis frame to an imposing foundation with motor installed there is a process of accumulation in which the work is minutely rationalized. One man may, for example, hold six bolts for another man to tighten on each car as it moves by. That may mean roughly 250 bolts an hour; 2,000 bolts a day; 500,000 a year. How does this affect a man's life if he keeps at it year after year?

. . . One feels oneself becoming a function of an impersonal apparatus—and do not think that simply because most workers are unable to articulate this feeling that they do not have it! They may just say, "it's driving me nuts," but in those four simple words is a profound psychological problem reaching the very heart of industrial civilization.

Sometimes the men on the line try to get time for "a break" by moving "up the line." This means that they work very quickly so as to move ahead to future units of work before the mo-

[1] For a more complete account, *see* Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, *The Hopi Way*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944.

"Fighting the Line" (heading is ours) is from Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther*, pp. 19–23, Random House, Inc., New York, 1949. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

The electronic punched card machine gives the worker in business and research an entirely new role. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

mentum of the assembly line would require them to. In this way they may gain five or ten minutes for a smoke. But soon enough the line catches up with you (it never seems to get tired) and you have to fulfill its demands. Sometimes you may fall behind and bang a hammer on a piece of steel or shout for the "utility man" in order to get some help. . . .

Soon the auto worker gets the feeling the men in the plants sometimes call "fighting the line," which might best be described as a mixture of punch-drunk and city-tense. Implicitly rejecting the idea that he is merely a function of a mechanical process, the worker tries to rebel against it; but not only doesn't the assembly line recognize his rebellion, it even refuses to recognize his separate identity. The psychological result is that the worker's aggression against the line can be released only against himself or other workers. . . .

Economic organization

Even a glimpse at life among the Bembas, Kwakiutls, Hopis, and factory workers in Detroit shows that a common fact running through the diversity of cultures is that the production, distribution, and use of goods becomes regularized—that is, *institutionalized.* These patterns cover the easily visualized part of the economy like its tools, its storage places, and its vehicles of transportation. But they also include a society's general notions about common or private ownership of property, regulation of monopoly, and the motives of people who work. Norms arise to govern all phases of our economy from the ethics of competition to price fixing and quality control.

Like any other phase of social organization, economic institutions have a natural history. They emerge out of the corporate experience of people who in seeking an abundant life have developed means of self-control in its achievement. Into their "emer-

gence has gone some foresight, a bit of intermittent tinkering, and a lot of undirected development." [1] We cannot say that the resulting economic arrangements fit together to form a symmetrical, harmonious unit. Social planners would wish it so, but realists see that it is not. We already know that in every action involving the co-operation and association of persons, there is a common interest, a purpose, or an objective (sometimes clearly defined in a rational statement, sometimes emotionally symbolized in a concept, sometimes only vaguely realized). There is also a structure or an organization which controls behavior in accordance with that common interest. Roles are differentiated according to the functions to be performed. In various societies, economic activity has distinctive organization and rationale. Primitive tribal systems differ from feudalism, and an agrarian society differs from an industrial economy. In each, the nature of the organized economy reflects the ecological and cultural characteristics of a given time and place.

The changing ecological and cultural setting of economic activity

In tribal society when people lived close to the physical environment which supported them, their patterns of economic activity were simple and undifferentiated in comparison with modern complexity.

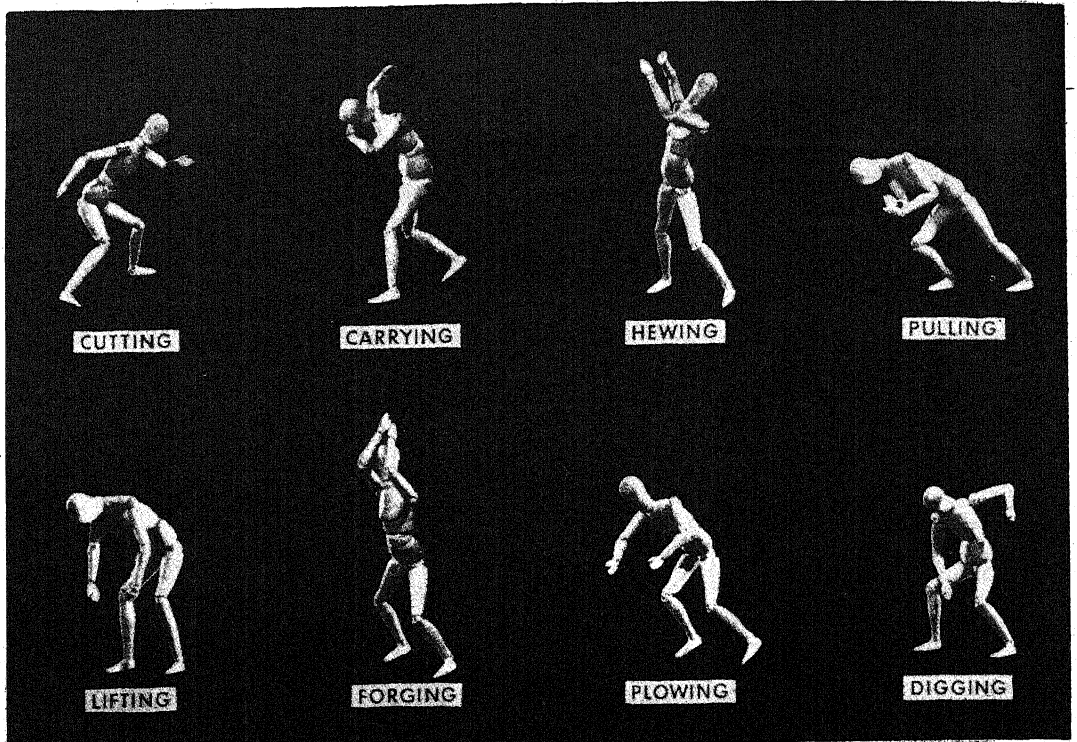
Undifferentiated activity in tribal life. In primitive society there were rudimentary forms of what are now called the basic institutions of private property, exchange, and credit, but we would be projecting our own attitudes and systems into the minds of primitive people if, on the basis of this evidence, we attribute to them the type of preoccupation which we have with "making money," "marketing goods," and "saving for a rainy day." The individual's sense of possession in his hunting weapons, war regalia, and slaves does not compare with the complicated laws and attitudes which accompany our belief in the institution of private property. Life in a primitive tribe was integrated. It was not departmentalized into the economic, religious, educational, and recreational categories which cause each personality in modern society to play five or a dozen specialized roles.

[1] From Walton H. Hamilton, "Organization, Economic," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 11, p. 487. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

This integrative characteristic of primitive life has been shared by other societies. Feudalism was not a system of economics; it was a way of living. "In the Middle Ages economic organization was an unrecognized and undifferentiated aspect of a landed and ecclesiastical social establishment." [2] The differentiation of life into separate compartments is, with some exceptions as in Graeco-Roman times, a modern phenomenon. We need not return to primitive culture, nor to the Middle Ages, to draw the contrast; the agrarian society, typical in this country for more than two centuries after the Pilgrims farmed for a living, will provide the comparison. It all seems like ancient history now in contrast with the changes that have crowded the decades of the nineteenth century and are not yet ended.

In that agrarian economy, everything people needed, except Bibles, salt, scrap iron, and gunpowder, was produced by individuals and families for their own use. What we now call the fundamental elements in production —land, capital, labor, and management— were not divided into separate factors. The farmer owned the land and such "capital goods" as plows, barns, horses, and a forge. He and his family provided the labor, and they were the managers of the enterprise. Not to oversimplify the picture, we acknowledge there was some trade, even foreign trade, a money system, extension of credit, and small manufacturing; but if these were the forerunners of our present systems, the modern heirs have little resemblance to their ancestors.

Modern specialization and complexity. Today, the farm boy has entered the factory to perform the specialized task of tending an automatic lathe while it shapes six hundred table legs a day. Other workers operate computer machines in the office, write advertising copy, prepare form letters, bill delinquent customers, buy raw materials, or lobby for lower freight rates in the handling of their goods. (For a statistical view of the dramatic shift in the labor force, *see* the chart on page 296.) Nor has the trend toward differentiation of function remained an urban phenomenon, for factory technology has now extended its influence to production on the farms as well.[3] In a summary sentence, suc-

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 486.
[3] *See* Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field.* Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1939.

Or, another way to show the contrast in man's role in production is the picture above and the almost unmanned chemical plant on the next page. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

cessive stages of the industrial revolution—which is what we have been talking about—can be described best as a gradual and, at times, rapid shift from man's dependence upon a natural to a technologically altered habitat. Rain, warmth, and soil fertility were the all-important factors of his earlier way of living. Steam, rails, and turbines; chemicals, dams and irrigation ditches; cargo planes; and atomic power are among the more prominent elements in the new ecology.

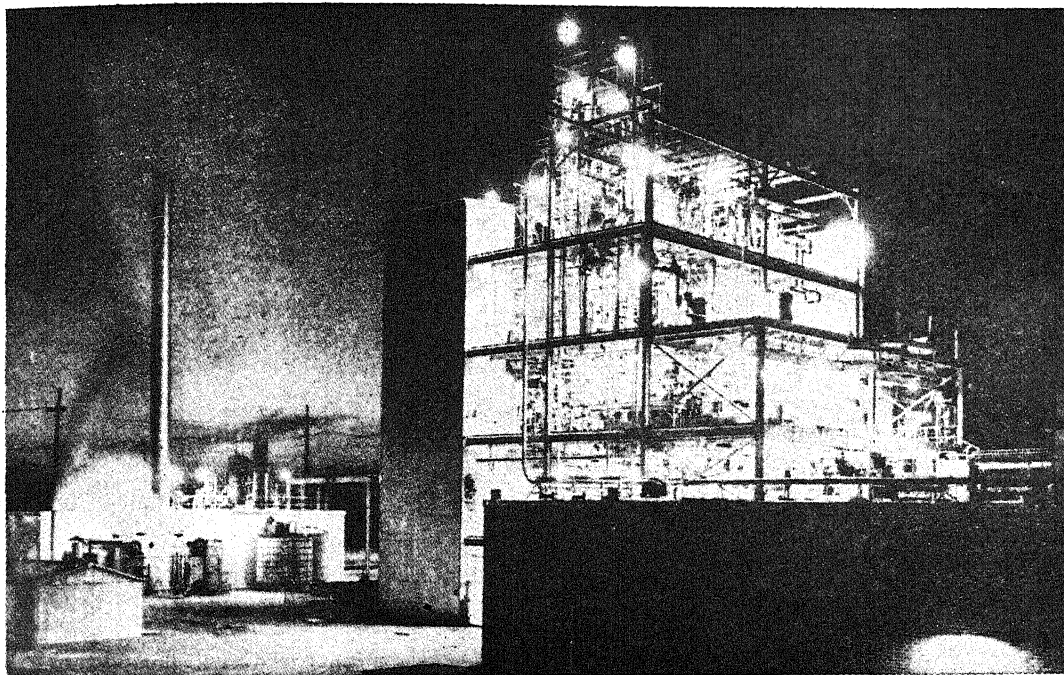
As the technological aspects of man's habitat increase in relative importance, life is altered in the direction of greater specialization of function and greater interdependence among individuals and groups. Now we shall notice a similar effect of this trend upon economic activity in particular.

Emergence of formal structure in economic relations

With "the long arm of the job" now extending far beyond the limits of the family, the tribe, and the neighborhood to world-wide markets and systems of production, the sociologist is impressed with the tremendous increase that has occurred in formal relationships. In the earlier economy, if the owner and the worker were not the same person, they knew each other intimately. If the producer was not also the consumer, he at least traded in the neighborhood with personal friends and relatives. In the whole process there was little need for money lenders, systems of exchange, or government relief agencies.

In contrast with this more personal, primary pattern, modern trends in economic organization can be characterized as increasingly impersonal, large scale, and segmental. The sociologist usually explains the factors involved in these trends in terms somewhat as follows:

1) Specialized groups have arisen to perform the separate economic functions required by the modern ecology.

2) These groups are large in membership and often widely distributed geographically—to match large-scale methods of production and distribution.

(Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

3) Because the economic groups are large in membership and specialized in purpose, their unity does not depend upon sentiments of personal regard, but upon the impersonal concept that in numbers there is strength.

4) Because this awareness temporarily unites individuals who may be in conflict with reference to other interests, the unity of the economic groups is unstable. It rests upon external alignments and adjustments that may change whenever other matters become more important to the individuals concerned.

For example, during periods of conflict like a strike, the members of each contesting group feel closely united in purpose and sentiment. Later, when the strike is settled, only a fraction of the workers bother to attend the union meetings and only a few employers remain vitally interested in their association.

5) To maintain and increase the unity of the economic group, its leaders employ two typical secondary control techniques:

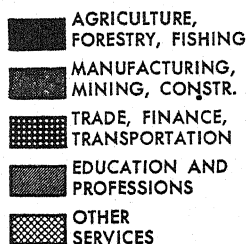
a) On the one hand, they use coercive measures of formal discipline (e.g., the "check-off" system) to maintain efficiency and unity.

b) On the other hand, through secondary techniques of communication (letters, magazines, newssheets, etc.) and through personalized mass appeal (conventions, mass meetings, parades, etc.), they try to arouse a voluntary, self-interest type of loyalty on the part of their members.

As groups become large-scale and impersonal, their officers resort to a bag of tricks to keep them unified, to maintain large membership rolls, and to pay the bills. The "check-off" system among the unions is an admission that external help is needed to keep the members in line and the dues collected. Under this system, the employer is required by his contract with the union to deduct the dues from the worker's paycheck and turn the amount over to the union treasurer.

Employers' groups, too, resort to special methods. They fix membership fees, exert pressure for everyone to join, hire an editor to make a newssheet sound chatty and personal, schedule golf contests and ladies' nights at convention time, and in other ways attempt to make the unity of an economic group seem both imperative and pleasant.

6) Since modern economic groups are spe cialized in function, each is dependent upon the close co-ordination of the entire system of groupings if its objectives are to be achieved.

7) But since each is also competing with

(From "The Story of Man and His Work," p. 11, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, Wilmington, Del., 1958)

the other groups in their struggle for a larger share of wealth, the possibility of integrating the entire organization seems remote:

a) Political authority has been used to force such integration in Russia.

b) Industrial democracy has been suggested as a means of self-control in this country.

c) Realistically we must acknowledge that economic organization in the United States, though admittedly interdependent, has not yet evolved a program of co-ordinated activity in the production and use of wealth.

From formidable to simple analysis

The chapter on economic organization in other sociology texts is likely to contain material similar to the preceding outline. Economic trends are anyone's province, including the sociologist. The labor union leader or the petroleum club member characterizes our economy with great ease, albeit with divergent words and views. For a formidable and detailed analysis, one could turn to the chapter, "Sociological Categories of Economic Action," in the volume by Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* as translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons.[1] Or a handier volume, somewhat more readable though also learned, is the "paperback" by Wilbert E. Moore, *Economy and Society.*[2] While calling upon such scholars before going far, possibly we could simplify our beginning view of economic institutions by taking another direct look at this phase of our own social organization.

Money and its use institutionalized. In some tribal societies there was money. It consisted of objects which symbolized value. These tokens, however, were not the only things traded. Even more common was direct barter in which no money was counted, but objects of value were exchanged.

In our society, money and the systems which surround its use are paramount. The writing of a check which stands for money is a simple matter. But then trace what happens. The purple stampings on the check's reverse side may show that it has gone across several state lines through local clearing-houses and has been handled by federal reserve banks. Electronic machines are devised to speed such checks on their circuitous way. They sort the checks according to the color of ink stamped on the back. Also, there are machines which can read checks and which can read the last balance on the account sheet. The rules, regulations, customs, and technology governing this handling of a symbol of money is a complex pattern so readily accepted by people that they are hardly aware of its presence. Only occasion-

[1] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,* The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1947.

[2] Wilbert E. Moore, *Economy and Society,* Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1955.

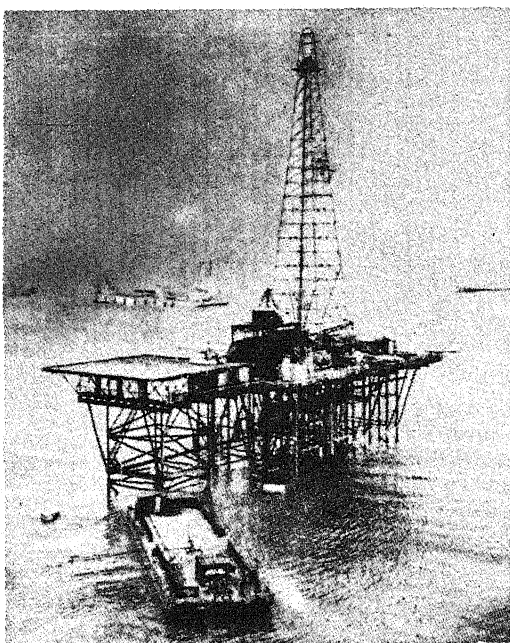
In spite of the big-scale trend just noted, small business is not entirely a thing of the past. The small enterpreneur still tries to hold his own in service activities and in the fabrication of parts which later find their way to the assembly line of the big factory. As long as his unit of service or production remains small, he avoids some of the growing complexities of large-scale organization. (Top, courtesy Handy & Harman, Inc.; rest, courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

ally does a miser try to avoid it all by storing real metal coins [1] in the mattress to be discovered by a burglar or after his death by a coroner. Happy thought!

Credit, as complicated as money. "The Attorney General cracks down on loan sharks," announces the newspaper. The reality of credit, lending, and their control by government are sensed at a glance. It reaches into family life to help people live beyond their means. It dominates advertising which, in the case of automobiles, more frequently announces monthly payments than actual price. The cash buyer of a car is almost an eccentric.

The partnership of government and economic organization is ever apparent in the control of credit. If we start to live too far ahead of ourselves, the government requires a down payment, or a larger down payment, when a television set is purchased. There is little laissez faire left in the market. Our economy is a controlled one, though not to the complete degree of some other societies. Social organization is as interlocked here as in family life, which we discussed earlier.

Producers, distributors, and consumers organize. The three traditionally essential units in our economy have all been caught up in the trend of big-scale organization. First, those who extract, assemble, and process raw materials, i.e., the *producers,* are an army having many subdivisions but lacking central control. In one camp are the workers, mostly without white collars, who have

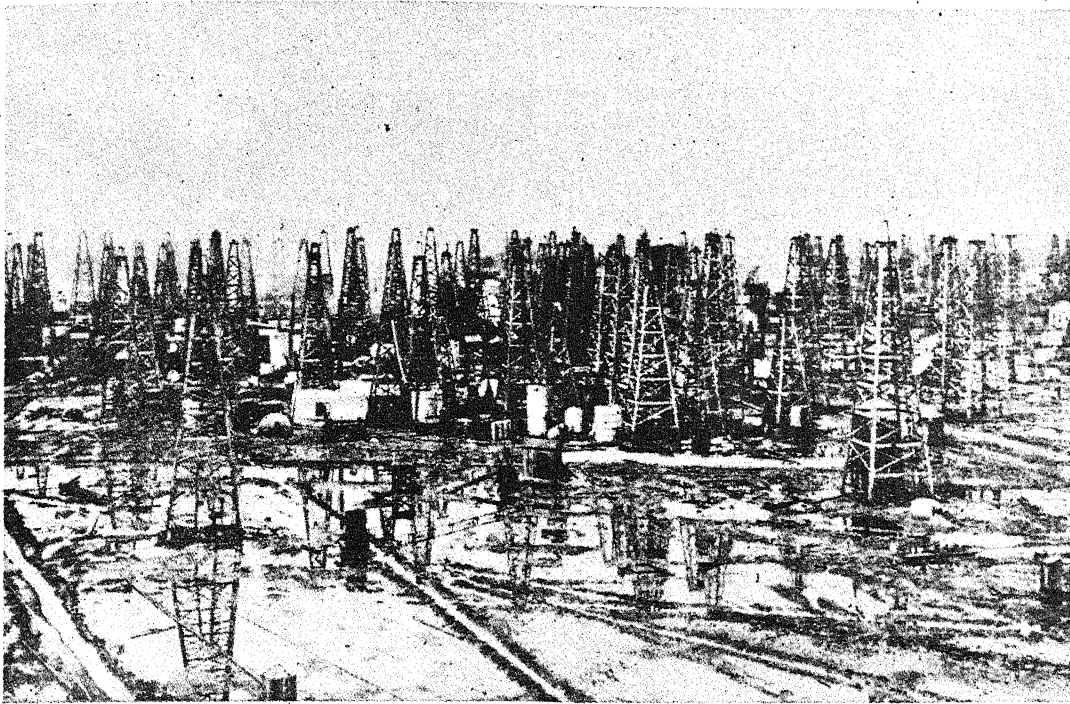
[1] Money coins are also a symbol, not possessing intrinsic value of their own. This is true since the precious metal content has been reduced at times.

Only large-scale organization can finance the costly processes of exploration and production. Even with funds, there is still risk—both human and economic. The tumbling of the "Texas tower" in the Atlantic with resulting death of scores of men in 1961 did not discourage oil companies, which use its prototype in drilling for oil on offshore sites. The early warning radar tower which crashed was, to some extent, copied after the offshore drilling rig. The latter, however, operates in safer waters. (Courtesy "The Lamp," Standard Oil Company of New Jersey)

formed labor unions, many of which have consolidated into the huge organization known as the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL–CIO). Some white-collared office employees are also affiliated with unions, but for the most part they remain unorganized. In another camp are those who own and manage the materials and tools of production. They are the corporations, many of which have joined others to form the "trade associations."

Of all the participants in the economic process, the *consumers* are the last to consider organization. Consumers' co-operatives, which have become such important groups in England, Sweden, and Denmark, have made headway in the United States, but principally in the form of credit unions for lending money, or in the production and distribution of power to the smaller towns and rural areas. On rare occasions consumers organize to protest high prices or to lobby for a pure-food bill, and many consult the ratings of commodities prepared by independent research organizations. For the most part, however, they depend upon their individual purchasing power to bring them fair treatment in the market.

Corporate owners and managers—not the same. Where is there another society present or past in which ownership and management are so separate? "Corporations have grown apace," we have said. The independent owner and even the partnership are not things of the past, but almost so. A few personal services like barbershops, beauty parlors, nursery schools, kindergartens, and classes in art or swimming are owned by individuals, families, or partnerships. Corporations, though, with their far-flung network of units of production, of distribution, or of service have taken over the grocery enterprise including its chains of supermarkets; the "slenderizing business" with its network of salons; the "how to be popular through graceful dancing" business with its commercial studios, as well as the more expected fields of producing aluminum and steel, of transporting people and freight, and of publishing the books people read.

A corporation is a legal entity. (Here enters the governmental aspect.) It is owned by stockholders. Widows invest in "the market" as do a few college professors and skilled workers. Some investors read the *Wall Street Journal* or other publications of market news and advice. Or, they follow the counsel of their broker, or they merely take a plunge and a chance. Relatively few have intimate knowledge of the management of the company in which they buy certificates of ownership. A smaller fraction attend the company's annual meeting.

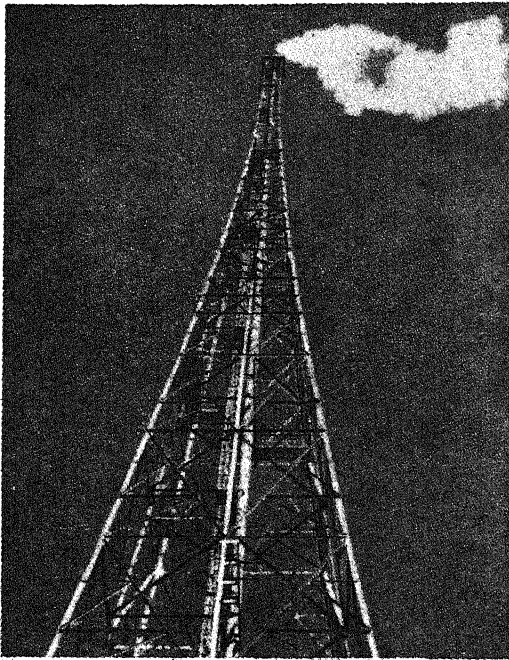
Management, not owners, runs corporations. The executives may buy a token amount of stock, or occasionally a large slice. Typically, though, managers are not the owners, and vice versa. This does not mean that the officers and top staff people are irresponsible. They have learned to deal in an organized way with organized labor and government. There are many checks on their activity. The success of their company and the increase in their own salaries are dependent upon efficient and enlightened control. This usually means that they must have a

The "get-rich-quick" craze which accompanied early oil discoveries led to this kind of costly exploitation. Every well reaching down to the same pool of oil cost tens of thousands of dollars to drill and operate. In the rush for profit the value of gas was overlooked, with oil fields blazing with flares. Later all states developed regulations governing the drilling of wells, the rate of production, and the avoidance of waste. (Courtesy "The Lamp," Standard Oil Company of New Jersey)

regard for the consuming public, for the workers who do the producing, and for their competitors from whom they also hope to get a square deal. However one views it, he sees this rise of professional management and of the other aspects of the artificial "person" known as a corporation running our economy, influencing our public policy, and determining what you and I eat, wear, and enjoy. This development most people call good. The corporation has become the vehicle of modern economic enterprise with its high standard of living, not for all, but for many.

Trend toward monopoly. Neither the union nor the management is a monopoly, yet each tries to increase the size and power of its control to improve its bargaining position. If the corporation were a monopoly in the extraction of some raw material, in the manufacturing of a much wanted item, or in the distribution of a certain food or service, it could set its own prices. The development of competing corporations and regulation by government reduce and control this trend toward monopoly. Labor likewise would hope for a large and powerful organization which would cause management to listen and yield to its demands, but seldom is its control complete. In both cases, though, we see gigantic social organizations.

Changing patterns in collective bargaining. While combative terms and, in the early days, outright combat marked industrial relations between the large-scale organizations of management and labor, there has been a more recent turn toward sophistication, but not toward complete peace! Each side of the bargaining table seems to acknowledge that the other should not be annihilated, that both may have a place in the total economy. One labor leader expressed the change in these terms:

When I first stood up for our union, I shouted, pounded the table, and demanded our rights. I was red-headed and I acted like it. Before long, I saw that management was thinking circles around me. They knew the ins and outs of the Taft-Hartley Act, while I just kept on demanding things.

Before the next bargaining session came up, I

Some people have thought that industry makes a landscape ugly. More recently, artists and photographers have caught the beauty of structural design. This is a good example of one type of activity, at first thought to be purely technological and economic, having an influence on and being influenced by other value systems. (Courtesy United States Atomic Energy Commission)

turned student. I could almost quote the Act from memory. I discussed it with other labor leaders who had gotten farther in school than I had. The lawyer for our union explained some parts of it to me. In addition to the Act, I also studied market trends, and conditions of employment in other industries. When the time came, I represented my union from a position of strength because I knew the company had a backlog of orders which would make a shutdown disastrous. Also, I knew that employment was good in neighboring industries, but in addition to that, I knew what I was talking about. Whether it was legal or economic, the more I knew the less loud I talked. You would be surprised how many times I caught management up on some details which they had overlooked in our contract, in the law, or in statistics about economic conditions. The change in me seems to represent a trend which has taken place in collective bargaining. If I had not been able to make the shift, the union would have found somebody else who could.[1]

There have been other changes as well. Moore notes that the issues on which bargaining takes place have broadened in scope.[2] Also, the number and size of units included in single negotiations have expanded. This has come about through a coalition of unions or through employers joining associations which bargain. Both of these facts, Moore thinks, have been reflected in a more complex internal structure of both corporations and unions, which he calls a bureaucratization.[3] —And so, the trend toward "bigger, if not better," continues at an accelerated clip. Our economy has developed a structure which is fascinating for the sociologist to study. The human consequences to which we now turn are even more intriguing.

Ike and Mike—are they alike?

Mass production, the goal and the symbol of the organization we have been describing, turns out identical units, with machines doing the work rather than people. That is why the individual unit can be priced low even though the wages of the few workers who supervise the machines are high. Examples of such

1 A recorded account of an interview with a union leader in New Jersey who worked in an oil refinery.
2 Moore, *op. cit.*, adapted from p. 31.
3 *Ibid.*

The growing complexity of economic organization is portrayed by this fifty-year comparison of the "overhead structure" of one company. These are only the files, but they are a rough index of the activity of its management. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

Who is the master—the man or the machine? Men may invent, tend, and repair machines, but other mechanical devices are looking over their shoulders to uncover human weaknesses. The camera, acting as a sleuth, catches the waste motions of the worker in these two pictures of contrasting work patterns. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

standardization are the uniform threading of nuts and bolts (really a major cultural item which we take for granted), perfect packaging of rice and macaroni with the cellophane never missing a fold, and the cut of men's suits which is the same for a given

Large-scale management of agricultural production, with its emphasis upon cost and profit, has brought rapid change in technology. Century-old primitive methods are replaced by machines. *See also p. 303.* *(Courtesy "The Lamp," Standard Oil Company of New Jersey)*

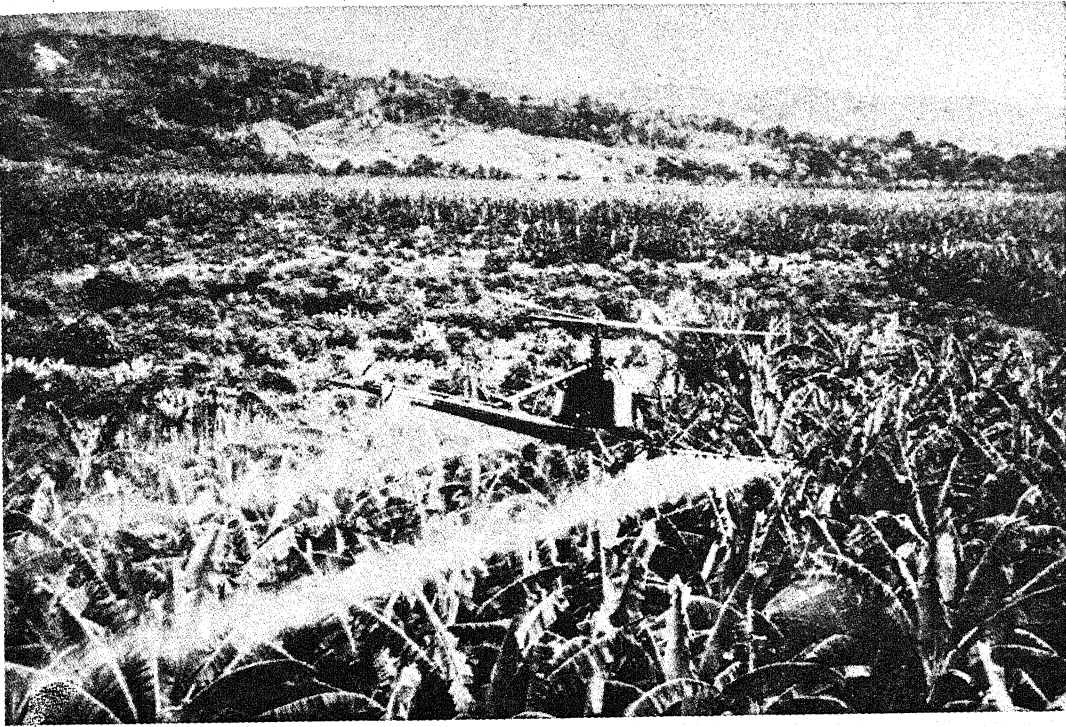
Not all hot, heavy, and dangerous work has been eliminated from production, though safety records in most industries have improved with every decade. (Courtesy United States Steel)

batch because a machine has done the cutting.

Repercussions of technology

What are the personality and cultural repercussions of this technological revolution? Do the people who tend the machines come to act like them, as was suggested in one of the opening illustrations? What happens to the individuality of people who fit into the speed and sequence of the production line? Also, do people become alike as consumers because their lives are organized around the same gadgets, foods, garments, houses, and recreation? Consider, for example, how mass communication operates as the last point, recreation. Has standardization taken over Hollywood's writing of scenarios for TV westerns almost as though the "thinking robot" had been in charge? Script writers do weave in minor variations, but the pattern of most plots and of words in the dialogue seem almost factory-made. The technique of staging a barroom fight is well patterned. It differs in standard ways from a fight among the boulders in the hills of a canyon. Stunt men know in advance just what is expected of them in either case. In Hollywood movies (and TV films), some individuality and variation have crept in, but possibly a wider departure from the norms has come from foreign producers.

This, though, is only one side of the fact. There *is variation* in products made by different manufacturers. The consumer in a supermarket or a clothing store still has a wide range of choice—possibly greater than ever before. Mass communication has opened new channels of experience for the individual. The publication of books and magazines and the formation of adult education classes are greater than ever in history. More people follow creative hobbies according to their own bent than was possible when eighteen hours a day were required just to keep the bodies and souls of one's family intact.

The Organization Man, by William H. Whyte, Jr., gives support to the first side of the argument. The author elaborates the idea

Dusting Crops—technology in agriculture. (Courtesy "The Lamp," *Standard Oil Company of New Jersey*)

of standardization beyond commodities and communication to the way people begin to look and act alike in basic ways. Whyte deals especially with ". . . our middle class who have left home, spiritually as well as physically, to take the vows of organization life, and it is they who are the mind and soul of our great self-perpetuating institutions." [1]

The corporation man is the most conspicuous example, but he is only one, for the collectivization so visible in the corporation has affected almost every field of work. Blood brother to the business trainee off to join Du Pont is the seminary student who will end up in the church hierarchy, the doctor headed for the corporate clinic, the physics Ph.D. in a government laboratory, the intellectual on the foundation-sponsored team project, the engineering graduate in the huge drafting room at Lockheed, the young apprentice in a Wall Street law factory.

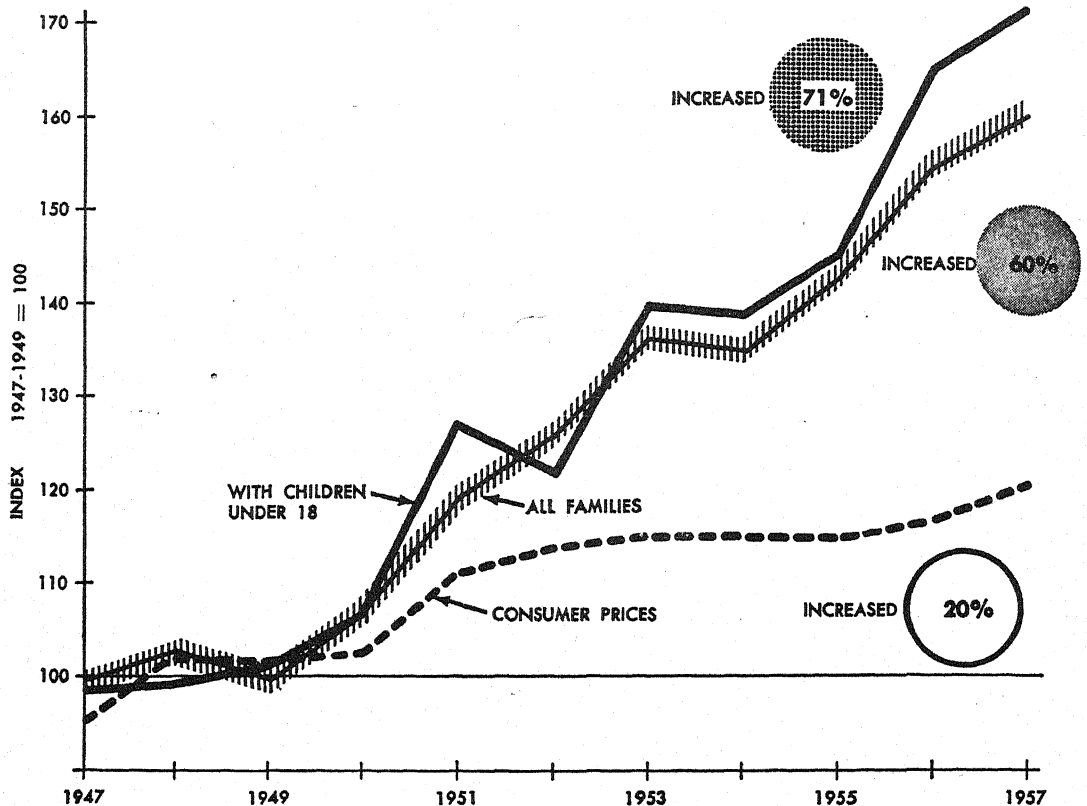
They are all, as they so often put it, in the same boat. Listen to them talk to each other over the front lawns of their suburbia, and you cannot help but be struck by how well they grasp the common denominators which bind them. Whatever the differences in their organization ties, it is the common problems of collective work that dominate their attentions, and when the Du Pont man talks to the research chemist or the chemist to the army man, it is these problems that are uppermost. The word *collective* most of them can't bring themselves to use—except to describe foreign countries or organizations they don't work for—but they are keenly aware of how much more deeply beholden they are to organization than were their elders. They are wry about it, to be sure; they talk of the "treadmill," the "rat race," of the inability to control one's direction. But they have no great sense of plight; between themselves and organization they believe they see an ultimate harmony and, more than most elders recognize, they are building an ideology that will vouchsafe this trust.[2]

Whyte's book has created a stir, as did David Riesman's, *The Lonely Crowd.*[3] Both are so well written that they entice the reader to go along with their generalizations about our institutions and the character of our people. Furthermore, both books are liberally documented. The Whyte volume was based on three years of "research."

We encourage students to read and debate these and similar volumes, but we do not attempt to pass judgment ourselves in a three-

[1] From *The Organization Man*, p. 3. Copyright © 1956 by William H. Whyte, Jr. By permission of Simon and Schuster, Inc.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4. Reprinted by permission.

[3] David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950.

Family income has increased. (Taken from "Children in a Changing World," *prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth)*

sentence evaluation. The authors see in our economy and in social organization trends which affect people in alarming ways. Such judgments are their privilege. Less ambitiously, we note the changes that are occurring in our institutional life. Mass production has reduced the cost of living and increased family income and personal leisure. (See charts on this and next page.) But it has also spilled over to standardize some patterns of research, recreation, family life and religion. In many respects, then, "Ike and Mike"—the people—do tend to look, act, and think alike. But the analogy that humans have become standardized like their machines should not be strained. The increase in leisure, in travel, in communication, and in education has made many people seek unique goals and become more individual than ever.

The best or worst—yet to come

One of the most significant cultural developments in recent years is the invention of the robot, or so-called thinking machine. Data-processing equipment, for example, can handle ten thousand digits or characters per second. The machine can "remember" twelve thousand digits or characters at one time and can compute at the rate of 2,000 additions or subtractions per second. Such machines can read and act upon detailed written instructions and can call the signals in the operation of an industrial plant or factory with a tremendous reduction in human labor. The following article will perhaps give the reader a glimpse of life in the age of automation and point out some of the social, political, and economic problems of that age.[1]

The above comment by O'Brien, Schrag, and Martin was their prelude to an article by Robert Bendiner on automation. Bendiner begins by asking:

What is there in automation that takes it out of the normal stream of mechanical progress and gives it an entirely new dimension? Unlike individual machines that have revolutionized only their own industries, automation calls for a basic change along the whole productive front. It is comparable, not to the linotype in printing or the Bessemer process in

[1] Robert W. O'Brien, Clarence C. Schrag, and Walter T. Martin, *Readings in General Sociology*, second edition, p. 172, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1957. Reprinted by permission.

steel, but to such historic concepts as mass production itself, concepts that revolutionized whole economies and made sweeping changes in the social structure.[1]

The first to become alarmed about the human consequences of thinking robots is organized labor. Labor will acknowledge that almost no modern corporation "lays off" workers when it introduces a new technology. Management anticipates the change by leaving vacancies unfilled and by making the shift when there is an expanding market. Nevertheless, in the long run considerably fewer workers are required when machines control machines. The electronics manufacturing industry is itself a case in point. With only 40 per cent more workers, the electronics industry increased its output by 275 per cent during a five-year period.[2]

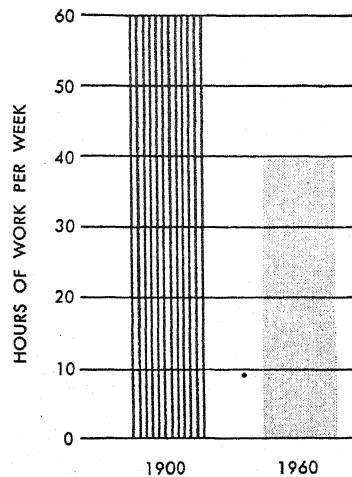
Labor leaders may agree with economists that in the long run technological improvements always bring more paid leisure, higher wages for those who do work, a higher standard of living, and a reduction in unit cost of commodities. In the short run, though, many human and organizational adjustments are to be made. Here are a few:

More masters of robots. The people who prepare the "programming" on electronic tape, which is fed into the robot as its "mentality," will need to be people of a high order of general education as well as of skill in statistics and the technology of the particular industry.[3] The repairman who is beckoned when a light on the panel shows a machine replacement is needed can be no ordinary bolt and wrench man. He is dealing with delicate instruments which, in turn, are attached to the lathe or the forge or the rolling mill. The replacement of a roller must be tied in with the electric brain which controls it. Training for these functions is already underway at computer centers in universities and in industries which have made the change-over.

Adjustments in economic structure. The system of wages, hours, and methods of payment are all subject to drastic revision. We will hear renewed demands for "the annual wage," or the fine line of distinction between salaries and wages may itself be obliterated.

[1] Robert Bendiner, "The Age of the Thinking Robot, and What It Will Mean to Us," *The Reporter*, vol. 12, p. 12, April 7, 1955. Copyright 1955 by the Reporter Magazine Company. Reprinted by permission.

[2] *Ibid.*, adapted from p. 17.

[3] *See* Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

People are working fewer hours and have more leisure. (Taken from "Children in a Changing World," prepared for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth)

Reorganization must be achieved, bringing the benefits of reduced cost of manufacturing to the consumer, the owner, the manager, and the workers. This is easily said but will it be accomplished through free enterprise competition between the two Goliaths, management and organized labor, or will government step in to referee the division of the rewards? And if so, how far will it step? There may be some of each, but as economic organization becomes gigantic, government is more frequently called upon. Political bureaucracy is damned and resisted but it is also wooed by whoever wants help and protection. This is the dilemma faced by a society which wants to avoid the extremes of both ruthless competition and collectivism.

The economics of leisure

As work weeks are shortened and pay checks fattened, people will be able to spend more hours and money on leisure pursuits. Demands on education, especially for adult learning, will grow. Teachers have not had their own work load lightened by electronics, though educational television, quiz master machines, and other devices are being tried. Before the teacher or professor learns how to work less than seven days a week, the influx of still more demands for learning will have arrived.

Travel agencies, transportation lines, and scenic wonders of the world will have far more business than ever. Employment will

A "slave" typewriter, which permits one operator to prepare simultaneously a written order, shipping labels, and a set of production schedules for the plant, suggests how many electronic "assists" a modern office worker has. In this case, the typist inserts information for a specific order, and the punch card system then proceeds to supply the rest of the customer data. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

increase in these areas as it slackens in factories.

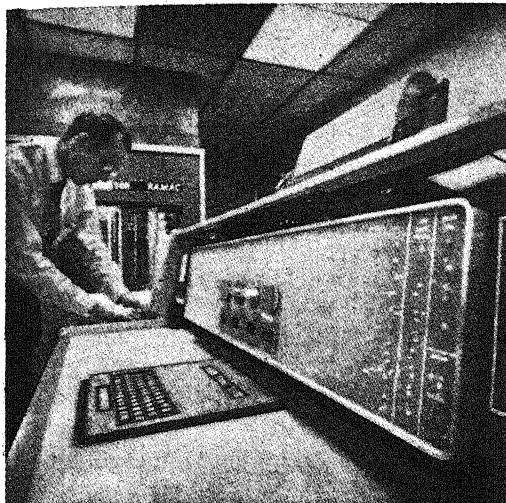
There has already been a growth in church attendance, interest in art museums, support of symphony concerts, and viewers of TV. Industrial leaders themselves are recognizing that as man becomes ever freer of work, he needs to refine his values about life by increasing his understanding of himself, his fellow man, and the past and future of his universe.

> Even while the N.A.M. [National Association of Manufacturers] calls for readjustments in curricula to put greater emphasis on the electrical, mathematical and mechanical sciences, it suggests that "practical education" is no longer adequate. It would be a fatal error "if Americans were transformed into highly specialized cavemen, woefully deficient in the arts and letters." The concept appears to be gaining among industrial and business leaders that as our complexities deepen, technology is not enough. Executives must understand human relations, economics, psychology, and therefore, at last, philosophy, with all that it entails.[1]

There will be more time for some to pursue philosophy and take longer vacation trips, but for the unlucky minority—more time to add to the growing rates of alcoholism, delinquency, and mental illness. On the side of artifacts, there will also be more money for highway construction, new school facilities, and new health and social services for those who need them. That is to say, the production of more wealth with less effort results in a larger margin of money and man-hours to be devoted by the economy to other purposes than mere subsistence. While this is simple economics, working out the readjustments will tax the wisest of our statesmen whether they are located in industry or government.

Controls on an economy

To be a person or a robot; to be subservient or free—are delightful contrasts which oversimplify. Nevertheless, when a society sees a

[1] Bendiner, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Reprinted by permission.

This machine can store up to 5 million pieces of information. In this case, it assists a company in keeping track of 17,000 items of merchandise handled by its various stores and tells the operator when the supply runs low and reordering is necessary on any one item. The electronic specialists who learn how to program the work to take fullest advantage of the mechanical brain of the machine are a new order of worker, requiring different preparation and enjoying different status from their earlier counterparts. Many of the employees displaced by such machines are securing employment in service and educational activities. (Courtesy E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.)

Spectator sports have gone far beyond football and baseball to include water shows with trained porpoise vying with skiing elephants for stellar billing! None of these "spectaculars" could be supported on the present mass scale were it not for a general increase in family income and leisure. (Courtesy Bert Nevins, Inc.)

trend going too far—when one phase of its organized life seems to threaten other basic values—groups in that society call for control measures. The most pleasant and, therefore, the ones most hoped for are voluntary controls. Our economic life has seen such a development.

Voluntary associations establish codes of conduct for competitors. A corporation is not allowed to remain in a trade association if it is outright dishonest in its advertising, if it undercuts a competitor in ways verging on blackmail or deceit, and if it fools the consumer with adulterated products. Trade associations may "lobby" before legislatures for the interests of their "clients," but the same association turns on its own errant members whenever they violate the voluntarily accepted code of fair dealing.

Chambers of commerce, better business bureaus, service clubs, councils of social agencies, and professional societies all have some regulatory function with respect to their own members. As they keep their own house in order, they think they can progress more effectively toward whatever goods and goals they want.

Voluntary regulation is not enough. The competing elements in the economy have themselves insisted that the long arm of government limit "free competition." And when government regulates, it often takes into account broader goals. Wilbert E. Moore holds ". . . in the process of limiting economic action . . . the regulatory power determines at the same time . . . the ends that the economy should serve, and the additional values with which it should be consistent." [1]

Whether the controls on an economy are voluntary or governmental, they cover a wide range of functions. Moore gives a comprehensive list:

> A rough classification of the controls on the economy follows:
>
> 1. *Protection of "economic opportunity."* Preservation of access to the market, control of mo-

[1] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

nopolies and other combinations, enforcing public responsibility on large-scale corporations.

2. *Protection of investors.* Regulation of equity stock issuance and sales, requirement of reports to stockholders and provision for voting for corporate officers.

3. *Protection of the consumer.* Requirements of grade-labeling, prevention of adulterated, harmful, or fraudulent foods and drugs.

4. *Protection of employment standards.* Provisions for minimum wages and maximum hours. Control of the labor of women, children, or other "sub-standard" workers.

5. *Reduction of risks.* Enforcement of safety regulations, provision of various forms of insurance against the hazards of unemployment, illness, old-age support.[1]

The last third of this chapter, governmental organization, will continue the discussion of control. Even though governmental control is not limited to economic matters, the colossus we have just described keeps government preoccupied much of the time.

Government as a means of social control

In reality, all forms of social organization, from a trade union to the federal constitution, are means of *social control.* They are the social structure that changes the anarchy of discrete individuals into the corporate life of social beings. They resolve conflicting interests into joint enterprise, replacing individual strife with patterns of compromise and co-operation.

Every group has some organization, some means of accommodating the individual members to one another. The boys' gang, primitive tribe, or company of castaways on Pitcairn Island soon develop customs and rules, divide responsibility, and punish the erring ones. Such customs, regardless of their content, are forms of group control. *Any social attitude, custom, or institution which modifies behavior in the direction of group unity is a form of social control.* Government is one of these forms.

Government controls through secondary, impersonal measures, in contrast with the personal influences of a primary group. Consequently, a government arises when a society becomes too complex to be unified through primary relations. In general, as the size of a society increases, as heterogeneous cultural elements are introduced through contacts with other groups, and as ecological changes disrupt the stability of its culture, the complexity and formal aspects of its social organization increase.

Emergence of formal control

There was a time when England resembled a folk society. Individual behavior was controlled by folkways and mores, which were "right" and obeyed because they were traditional. The mores were supported by awe-inspiring, ritualistic observances in church, in state, and in family life. Even the emergence of England's common law we noted in Chapter Three was little more than the recognition of mores which had governed behavior for generations.

> It probably would have surprised the early Englishman if he had been told that either he or anybody else did not know the law—still more that there was ever any need for any parliament or assembly to tell him what it was. They all knew the law, and they all knew that they knew the law, and the law was a thing that they knew as naturally as they knew fishing and hunting. They had grown up into it. It never occurred to them as an outside thing.
>
> . . . It was five hundred years before the notion crept into the minds, even of the members of the British Parliaments, that they could make a new law. What they supposed they did, and what they were understood by the people to do, was merely to declare the law, as it was then and as it had been from time immemorial. . . .[2]

But when the social structure of England was revolutionized by industrial change and when its empire building brought peoples of the greatest diversity under the control of one government, the lawmaking of Parliament and the administrative tasks of official agencies increased tremendously. The United States, as its name implies and as its thousands of laws and political officials substantiate, is a political group, a state, unified and regulated by formal organization. Merriam characterizes this formal, accommodative function of political organization in the following terms:

> The functional situation out of which the political arises is not the demand for force as such, but the need for some form of equilibrium, adjustment, *modus vivendi* between the various groups and individuals of the community, as a substitute indeed for force in many cases. . . .
>
> The accommodation of these groups (and of the individuals within them) produces a situation from which political authority emerges, either in dire distress as a last resort, or as a constructive adjust-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 30. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Frederic J. Stimson, *Popular Law-making*, pp. 4, 6, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

ment of a co-operative type, perhaps rationalized as the optimum condition of life.[1]

Conflict among states has been an important factor in centralization of political control.

The expansion of trade with its need for new markets and sources of raw material creates economic competition among groups occupying different territories. This takes on political significance when one group tries to exclude others by coercive measures. Such economic factors in international conflict are supplemented by the cultural considerations of national pride, desire for territorial integrity, and for political independence. When the two sets of forces are combined—and they usually are—there is a great incentive, even among small nations, for their organization as political states. In time of peace, states adjust conflicting interests through treaties, foreign diplomats, boards of arbitration, United Nations, and international courts. Acts of war between states acknowledge that these means of accommodating conflicting interests have failed.

The state as a social group

When the members of a society are considered with reference to their political behavior, they are called *citizens* or subjects, and the group to which they belong is called the *state*. The state involves a territory, a government, and a people. If the people are unified culturally by common folkways and traditions, they are also called a *nation*. When the folk and the citizens are one and the same, when the nation and the state coincide, the greatest group unity is possible. The *government* includes those official agencies and functionaries by means of which the state achieves its ends. The *laws* are rules of the state codified, enacted, or decreed, and enforced through the machinery of government.

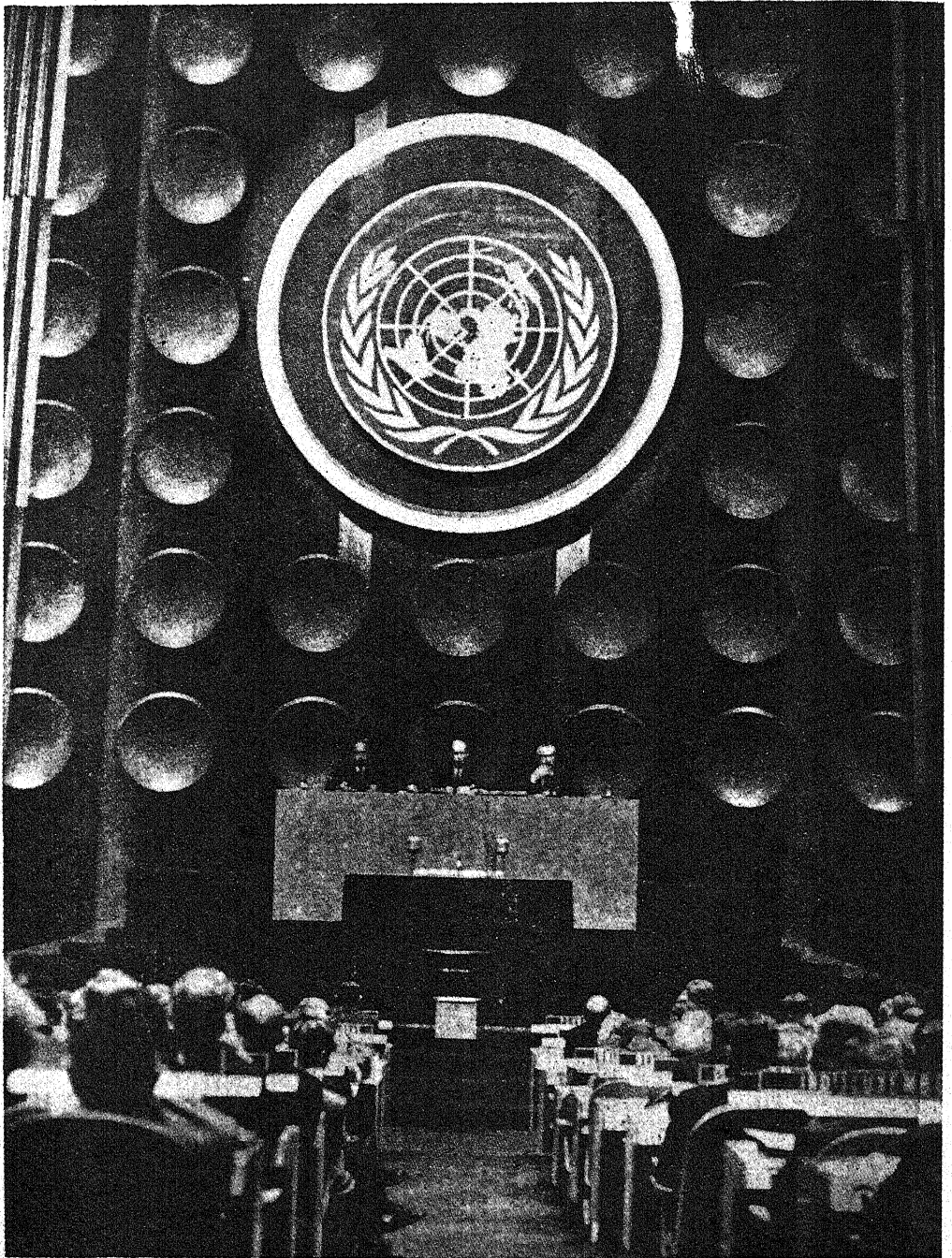
The state differs from other social groups within the territory in that it alone may exercise social control by coercive force, but this difference is less significant than is commonly supposed. Although the state is entrusted with coercive authority, it does not rely on that type of control alone, but functions very much as do other secondary groups whose purpose is to facilitate the co-operation of large numbers of people in a common enterprise. Indeed modern states, as we shall later see, have taken over the functions of many private agencies of social welfare, in which the punitive feature is almost negligible. On the other hand, some nonofficial agencies have types of formal authority over their members which are not far different from those of the state.

Political organization, then, is one phase of social structure, one phase of formalized group control. In some societies it is an undifferentiated phase—the political, the economic, and the religious behavior of the group is an integrated pattern of living. However, with the trend toward specialization observed in other parts of social organization, there have emerged also political institutions which protect or help achieve those group values for which the mores and other informal patterns have proved inadequate. The political organization, with its formal devices of constitutions, kings, presidents, legislatures, courts, police, armies, flags, ritual, uniforms, physical headquarters, official functionaries, medals of honor, and forms of punishment, sets itself to the task of protecting or achieving whatever values those who control the government consider important. Different governments are directed to many different tasks. Some are primarily concerned with the sanctity of the nation's gods; others are devoted to preserving the freedom and personal liberties of their people; and others raise to positions of first importance the protection of property, the proletarian class, capitalism, political boundaries, "purity of race," "national honor," "cultural development," the position of the ruling caste, or a combination of these and other values.

Government and the changing community in the United States

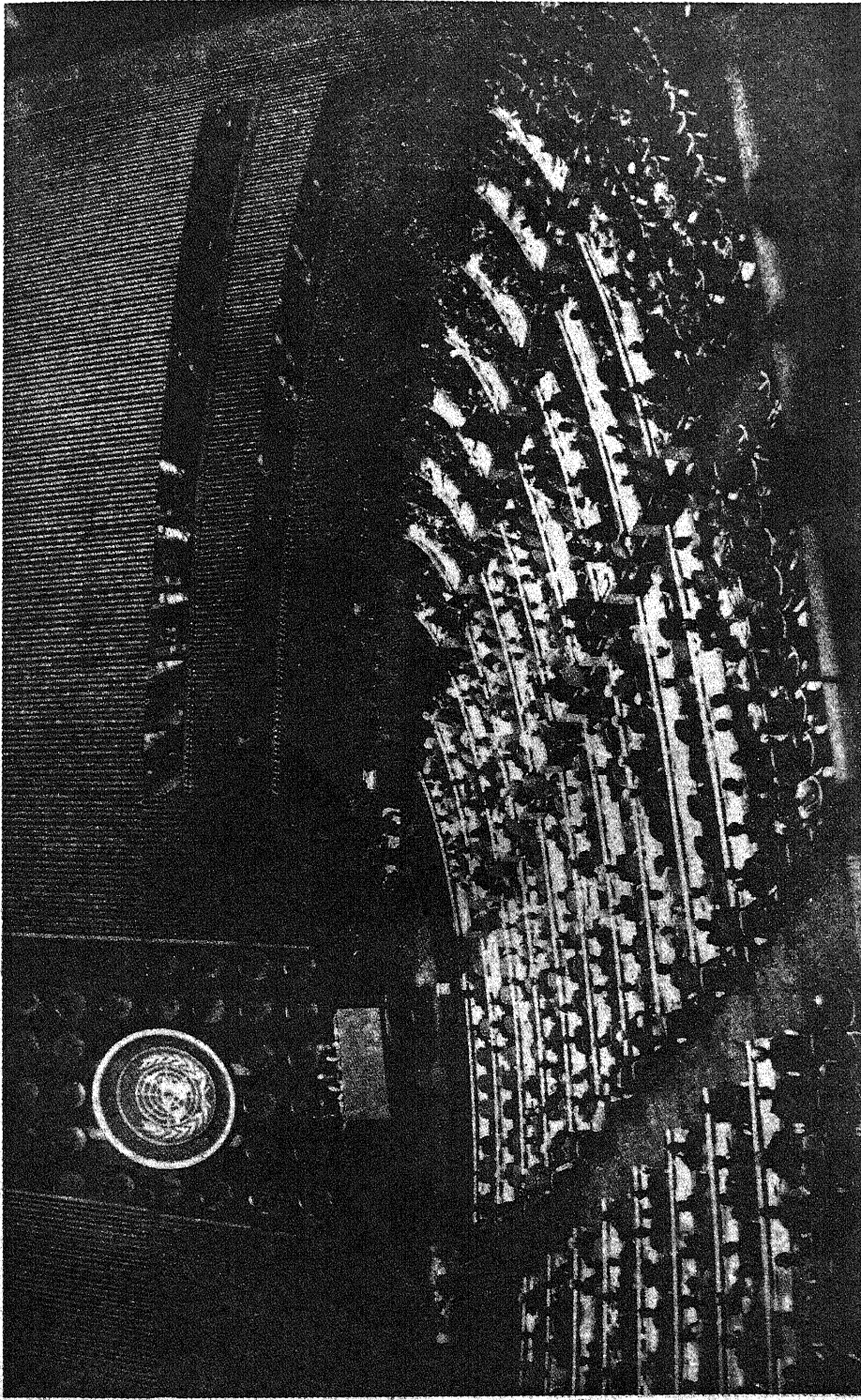
In the early days of New England, the town meeting was the agency of democratic government, made possible by an essentially *primary group* type of society.

In a New England township the people directly govern themselves; the government is the people. . . . Once each year, . . . a "town meeting" is held, at which all the grown men of the township are expected to be present and to vote, while any one may introduce motions or take part in the discussion. . . . The town meeting is held in the town house, but at first it used to be held in the church,

[1] Charles E. Merriam, *Political Power*, pp. 17, 21, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1934. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

With the political and economic organization necessary for world peace, the cultural lag of earlier days gives way to complex, new institutions like the United Nations. Its origin was timely, dignified, and idealistic, but it has often been the scene of undignified international deliberation. Riots in the spectators' balcony and delegates pounding their desk with a shoe are a discordant part of this effort to learn the art and science of compromise and accommodation. (Courtesy United Nations)

which was thus a "meeting-house" for civil as well as ecclesiastical purposes. . . .[1]

"Those wards called townships in New England," said Jefferson, "are the vital principle of their

[1] John Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States Considered with Some Reference to Its Origins*, p. 19, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1890. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

The orderly seating arrangement and the latest electronic translation devices have not yet been paralleled by equally smooth consideration and solution of world problems in the United Nations. (Courtesy United Nations)